Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-88-229 *29 November 1988*

CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Warsaw Pact 'Informal Group' Meets in Berlin *[ADN]* 1
Pact Representative Speaks on Restructuring *[NARODNA ARMIYA 7 Nov]* 1
CEMA Committee for Light Industry Convenes *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 23 Nov]* 2
CEMA Conference on Cooperation in Electronics *[BTA]* 2
CEMA Chemical Industry Protocol Signed *[PAP]* 2

ALBANIA

Alia Greets SFRY's Dizdarevic on National Day *[Tirana Radio]* 3
Declaration of Palestinian State Welcomed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 19 Nov]* 3
Malile Receives DPRK Foreign Ministry Group *[ATA]* 4
New Volume of Hoxha's Works Published *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Economic Progress Report for 13-19 Nov 88 *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Nov *[Tirana Radio]* 4

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Greets 'Arafat on Solidarity Day *[BTA]* 5
Zhivkov, Atanasov Meet Soviet Delegation *[BTA]* 5
Zhivkov Receives Hungarian Envoy's Credentials *[BTA]* 5
BCP CC Congratulates MSZMP on Anniversary *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 24 Nov]* 6
Stanko Todorov Departs for Warsaw 26 Nov *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 26 Nov]* 6
Gorbachev Visit to India Positively Assessed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Nov]* 6
Situation in Baltic Republics Viewed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 25 Nov]* 6
National Assembly Commission Discusses 1989 Plan *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 23 Nov]* 7
National Assembly Session Announced *[BTA]* 8
Control Committee Investigates Construction *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 23 Nov]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Jakes, Husak Cable Greetings to 'Arafat *[CTK]* 9
Adamec Congratulates New Hungarian Premier *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Nov]* 9
GDR Hands Over Two Escaping Czechoslovaks *[RUDE PRAVO 17 Nov]* 9
USSR Citizens' Shopping Spree Subsides *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Nov]* 9
Sales of Some Consumer Goods To Be Rationed *[Sadilkova in RUDE PRAVO 19 Nov]* 9
Jakes Visits Bohemia, Speaks on Restructuring *[RUDE PRAVO 17 Nov]* 10
Stepan, Jakes Address Organizations' Chairmen *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Nov]* 11
Official Calls For New Anti-Gypsy Legislation *[Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Nov]* 13
Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-8 Nov 13

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Hungarian German-Language Paper Now Unobtainable *[Hamburg DIE WELT 24 Nov]* 15
Commentary Criticizes USSR's SPUTNIK *[He. in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Nov]* 15
Government's Rejection of Soviet Reforms Viewed *[Hamburg DIE ZEIT 25 Nov]* 17
SED Bodies Greet USSR's Yazov on Birthday *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Nov]* 18
Mueckenberger Receives Soviet General Snetkov *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Nov]* 18
FRG Attitude Toward War Criminals Condemned *["Stan" in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26-27 Nov]* 18
Woerner, Galvin Statements on Arms Criticized *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Nov]* 18
U.S. Refusal of Visa for 'Arafat Assailed *[ADN]* 19
Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Nov *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* 19

HUNGARY

Nemeth Interviewed on Democratization Issue *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 27-28 Nov]* 21
Grosz, Nemeth Queried on Parliamentary Session *[Budapest TV]* 22
Grosz Views Activity After Leaving Premier Post *[NEPSZABADSAG 25 Nov]* 25
People's Front Leader Huszar Interviewed *[Budapest Radio]* 26
Pozsgay, Nagy Speak on Trade Union Accord *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Horn Queried on Policy Towards Romania *[Budapest TV]* 28
Leaders' Public Appearances Noted 29
For 2-9 November 29
For 11-18 November 29

POLAND

OPZZ Approves Walesa Talk, Views TU Congress *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Nov]* 31
Walesa-Miodowicz Debate Confirmed *[Hamburg DPA]* 31
Opposition's 'Turnabout' on Talks Assessed *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Nov]* 31
'Documents' of 3d OPZZ Assembly Adopted *[PAP]* 32
PZPR Politburo Discusses Self-Management *[PAP]* 34
Alcoholic Drink Prices To Increase 10 Percent *[TRYBUNA LUDU 15 Nov]* 35
Rakowski Continues Visit to Austria 35
Rakowski, Vranitzky Preview Talks *[Warsaw TV]* 35
Rakowski Opens Talks With Vranitzky *[PAP]* 35
Rakowski Offers Dinner Toast *[PAP]* 36
Vranitzky Gives Reply Toast *[PAP]* 37
Rakowski-Vranitzky News Conference *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26-27 Nov]* 38
Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Current Issues *[PAP]* 40
Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-15 Nov *[TRYBUNA LUDU]* 42

ROMANIA

Joint RCP, Democratic Bodies Plenum Held *[AGERPRES]* 44
'Ceausescu Era' Achievements Praised *[AGERPRES]* 45
Leaders' Public Appearances Noted 46
For 6-12 November 46
For 20-26 November 46

YUGOSLAVIA

Sydney Consulate Refuses To Hand Over Gunman *[AFP]* 47
Local Police Blamed for Problems *[TANJUG]* 47
Sweden Reports Sale of 'Robot 15' Missiles *[Stockholm Radio]* 47
USSR's Silayev Arrives for Talks 15 Nov *[TANJUG]* 48
Soviets To Open Archives to Researchers *[TANJUG]* 48
Received by Mikulic *[TANJUG]* 49
Silayev on Ways To Improve Trade *[Nedic on Belgrade Radio]* 49
Agreement Signed With CSSR for More Trade *[CTK]* 49
Loncar Ends Official Visit to FRG 9 Nov *[POLITIKA 10 Nov]* 50
Loncar Assesses EEC Ties *[TANJUG]* 50
Greece's Papoulias Official Visit 16-17 Nov 51
Dizdarevic Receives Minister *[TANJUG]* 51
Loncar, Papoulias Meet *[TANJUG]* 51
Suvar Receives Papoulias *[TANJUG]* 52
Greek Foreign Minister Departs *[TANJUG]* 52
Athens Radio on Bilateral Issues 52
Popovski, Mikulic Meet European Council's Oreja *[TANJUG]* 53
LCY Commission on Economic Reform Foundations *[Belgrade Radio]* 53
Defense Secretary Kadijevic Presents Budget *[TANJUG]* 54
Kadijevic, Slovene Officials Discuss Defense *[TANJUG]* 56
New Multiple Rocket Launcher Developed *[BORBA 8 Nov]* 57
Serbian Presidency Discusses Stanovnik *[Belgrade Radio]* 58

Slovene President Meets Ljubljana Students *[TANJUG]* 58
Slovene Conference on Political Differences *[BORBA 11 Nov]* 59
Mikulic, Stojanovic Attacked in BORBA *[11 Nov]* 60
Vlasi, Jasari 'Ignore' Democratic Centralism *[Jerotijevic on Belgrade Radio]* 61

Warsaw Pact 'Informal Group' Meets in Berlin

LD2311145588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1204 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—A 2-day session of the informal group of the Warsaw Pact states ended in Bucharest today.

Views and information were exchanged on topical international questions, in particular on security and cooperation in Europe and the solution of conflict situations in other parts of the world.

In addition, information was exchanged on the foreign policy activity of the Warsaw Pact states.

Pact Representative Speaks on Restructuring

AU0811191188 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, representative of the Commander in Chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the Bulgarian People's Army, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov and Major Vladi Vladkov: "Our Brotherhood Is Sacred"—date not given]

[Excerpts] Colonel General Ivan Gashkov, representative of the Commander in Chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, was recently accredited to our country. He readily responded to the invitation of the NARODNA ARMIYA editorial board collective to give an interview to Colonel Rangel Zlatkov, NARODNA ARMIYA chief editor, and with Major Vladi Vladkov, editor of the daily's international affairs department. [passage omitted]

[Question] Every anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] is not only a chance to assess past achievements, but also a turning point marking a new stage in progress. Can you describe the present-day dimensions of the GOSR in the life and activities of the Soviet people and their protectors?

[Gashkov] Every GOSR anniversary celebration is a review of the Soviet country's achievements. [passage omitted]

The spirit of the GOSR today is above all a new, resolute, and offensive advance from socialism to communism. The Soviet people are confident that, on the basis of restructuring, glasnost, and democratization, they will effectively accomplish the difficult tasks assigned to them. The awakening of the Soviet people's national awareness is a guarantee for this. It has made it possible for us to reveal the great social activity of the human individual and has enabled us, within a short period, to involve the broad strata of the Soviet people in the process of transformation. [passage omitted]

The reform in the political system of our society which is being implemented at the initiative of the CPSU has engaged the broad masses of the working people in the management and administration of all state and public affairs. It has revived the Leninist concept of democracy and adopted specific steps for totally eliminating the results of the personality cult, of bureaucracy, and of deviations from the Leninist norms of party life. [passage omitted]

The GOSR confirmed that the unity of all peoples in the Soviet Union, of the countries that are members of the socialist community, and of all progressive mankind, based on equal rights, is possible. This is eloquently demonstrated by the experience of the Great Patriotic War, and also by the entire, more than 70-year-old history of the USSR, as well as by the history of the socialist countries, which is rather long. The fact that we are today confronted with certain deformations in relations among the nationalities should be attributed to deviations from the Leninist policy on nationalities, to a bureaucratic approach toward regional interests, and to delays in solving social problems. [passage omitted]

The irreconcilable differences of class interests between the world bourgeoisie and the proletariat should not represent an insurmountable obstacle to peaceful relations between capitalism and socialism. The CPSU consistent defends the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, which is lies at the basis of the new political thinking. Guided by this principle, the member countries of the Warsaw Pact developed and adopted a fundamentally new doctrine, which represents a series of basic views on averting war, on the military organization of their armed forces, and on their training to repel aggression. [passage omitted]

[Question] In recent years, "perestroyka" has become a household word that hardly needs translation in any foreign language. Can you describe the basic trends of innovation in the USSR Armed Forces, and the practical results that have already been achieved in this respect?

[Gashkov] At the present stage of restructuring, the commanding cadres, staffs, and troops of the Soviet Armed Forces consider their main task to be the requirement to improve the combat-readiness of their units and groups of units to a qualitatively new level. These tasks are to be accomplished through a comprehensive improvement in the style and methods of work; through decisively increased effectiveness in operational, combat, and political training; by expanding the process of democratization and glasnost; and by most efficiently using the potential of the human factor, as well as by consolidating order, strict organization, and discipline in the Army.

To implement these tasks a totally new political and moral atmosphere has been established in the Soviet Armed Forces—an atmosphere of strict discipline, a businesslike approach, adherence to principles, and a sense of responsibility. [passage omitted].

[Question] Comrade Colonel General, it is a well-known fact that first impressions are always the strongest and most lasting. Can you tell us how you were welcomed in Bulgaria, and how you will remember your first meetings with our working people and with the soldier's collectives of the Bulgarian People's Army?

[Gashkov] The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a wonderful fraternal, socialist country. [passage omitted]

What about my impressions? They are excellent. I saw a strong, well-organized and well-trained soldiers' collective, capable of coping successfully with the tasks assigned to them by the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP National Conference for the defense of socialist Bulgaria. The officer staff is well- trained and has a perfect command of the military technical equipment, as well as of modern military theory; it has acquired useful experience in commanding the subunits and units. [passage omitted]

CEMA Committee for Light Industry Convenes

AU2511160388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The 51st session of the Permanent CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of Light Industry opened in Berlin on Tuesday [22 November]. The 4-day meeting is attended by delegations from Bulgaria, the CSSR, GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the USSR, Hungary, and Vietnam. Cooperation between the CEMA member countries in this sphere for the period up to the year 2000 will primarily focus on an increasingly improved supply to the population, including high-quality products of the light and furniture industry.

CEMA Conference on Cooperation in Electronics

AU1811214988 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Text] Varna, November 18 (BTA)—The C.M.E.A. Committee on Cooperation in the Field of Electronization completed its second session here. Taking part were representatives of Bulgaria, Vietnam, the G.D.R., Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the U.S.S.R., Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

They paid particular attention to the implementation of the collective concept on the international socialist division of labour in the 1991-2005 period in the field of electronization on the basis of drafting and updating intergovernmental programmes and agreements. The efforts will be channelled into a more adequate satisfaction of the C.M.E.A. members' long-term requirements of electronic components, of modern communications and computing equipment. The agenda also included items related to the coordination of the countries' economic development plans in their parts concerning electronization, the improvement of the economic mechanism of cooperation, the implementation of future-oriented programmes for development of multilateral production specialization and cooperation up to the year 2000, as well as the C.M.E.A. Comprehensive Programme for Scientific and Technological Progress.

The session approved a plan for the work of the electronization committee in the 1989-1990 period.

The documents signed include agreements endorsing a programme for techno-scientific work of the International Centre for Informatics and Electronics, its rules and statute, as well as a number of protocols regulating its functions.

CEMA Chemical Industry Protocol Signed

LD1811114088 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 17—The 72nd session of the CMEA standing committee for chemical industry ended its three-day debates here today, which focused on the settlement of co- production and investment ventures in this industry in CMEA countries in the years 1991-1995. The session was concluded with the signing of a protocol.

Chairman of the session Stanislaw Klos told PAP that during the session sides arranged the directions of further activities, chiefly in the sphere of biotechnology, including the research and production of antibiotics, enzymes and hormones, as well as plastics, and materials for electronics.

"Our committee is supervising these fields by taking part in the creation of a complex programme of scientific and technological progress in CMEA countries. We devoted much time to the coordination of investment ventures and cooperation in connection with the planned improvement of structure of chemical industries in our countries. We have a considerable responsibility for the coordination of social and economic plans in the field of chemical industries in the CMEA for the next five year period," said Stanisla v Klos.

Alia Greets SFRY's Dizdarevic on National Day

AU2811203788 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following greetings telegram to Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency:

On the occasion of your national day, in the name the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and on my own behalf, I send you, and through you to the peoples of the SFRY, sincere greetings and wishes for their well-being and the prosperity of their country.

Declaration of Palestinian State Welcomed

AU2911112988 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Nov 88 p 4

[Sulejman Hasani article: "Welcoming the Creation of a New Palestinian State"]

[Text] On 15 November, the session of the Palestine National Council [PNC], ended in Algiers with the announcement of the creation of a new Palestinian state. The declaration of a Palestinian state rests on the basis of Resolution 181 of the UN General Assembly in 1947, which covers the creation of two states, one Israeli and one Arab, on what was then the territory of Palestine. Alongside this, a political declaration was also issued, indicating the PNC's acceptance of Resolution 242 of the Security Council in 1967, which recognizes the existence of the Israeli state.

The declaration of a new Palestinian state has been welcomed and recognized by all Arab countries and many other countries in the world. The Albanian people and their government, who have supported the Palestinian people's struggle at all times, welcomed the creation of a new, independent Palestinian state. The official statement of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, states that "The decision made by the PNC at its meeting in Algiers is an event of great importance for the Palestinian people. This historic act responds to the aspirations and rights of the brave Palestinian people to have their own homeland and contributes to settling conflicts in the Middle East and strengthening security and peace in this region."

The declaration of an independent Palestinian state is a historic event for the Palestinian people. Although Palestine is occupied at present, this step has not been taken in a void. It is a logical consequence of the long, heroic struggle that the Palestinian people have been waging for decades to exercise their legitimate rights against the imperialist - Zionist aggressors. The uprising of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories, that has now lasted for almost a year, has had a special influence. This uprising has proved to the whole world that the Palestinian people, despite long years of servitude, have never been broken, and that their freedom-loving instincts have not been extinguished. It has been this uprising that has shattered many ideas and concepts that had arisen concerning the Middle East conflict. It showed the world not only the indomitability of the Palestinian people, but also the savagery of the Israeli Zionists, and exposed the sham of the so-called "democracy" that is supposed to exist in Israel. As a result, Israel has become more isolated than ever in the international arena.

One direct result of the uprising in the occupied territories was the announcement by King Husayn of Jordan on 31 July this year of the severance of all legal and administrative ties with the West Bank and Gaza. This step created a new situation for the PNC and the Palestinian people. It confronted the PNC with new and major political, legal, financial, and administrative responsibilities, which had formerly been borne by Jordan. The Palestinian problem can no longer be viewed in the old way. The PNC is faced with the task of overcoming all the problems relating to the occupied territories. To this end, talks and consultations have been held both among the Palestinians, and at Arab and international level. There were various views, ranging from acceptance to scepticism and rejection of Resolution 242 by the PNC. However, there was virtual unanimity among the Palestinian masses, especially in the occupied Arab territories, on the declaration of a new, independent Palestinian state. It was received there with enthusiasm. The illegal leadership of the uprising welcomed the event by announcing another 3-day general strike. Israel received the news with annoyance. Shamir had said earlier that the PNC's plans for the creation of an independent state were "a crazy dream that would never come true." The United States, despite the PNC's acceptance of Resolution 242, which had been laid down as a precondition for its recognition, will not, a State Department spokesman said, support the declaration of independence of the Palestinian state. George Bush, the recently-elected president, has spoken against a Palestinian state. The creation of a Palestinian state and the wide international support granted to it put problems in the way of American and Israeli policy in the region. Therefore, the United States will continue its anti-Palestinian maneuvers in collaboration with the other superpower, the Soviet Union. At present, the two superpowers are in agreement on the general need for a "peaceful solution" to the Middle East conflict, according to a new agreement, resembling that on Afghanistan.

The declaration of a new, independent Palestinian state is a historic victory for the Palestinian people. But a long road still faces them in winning all their legitimate rights. As 'Arafat said, the declaration of a Palestinian state "reinforces the legitimacy" of the armed struggle for the formation of this state "on the whole of Palestinian territory." The determination and unity not only of the ranks of Palestinians, but of other fraternal Arab countries and peoples, is a strong weapon in this struggle.

Malile Receives DPRK Foreign Ministry Group

AU2511131188 Tirana ATA in English
0755 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Text] Tirana, November 25 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, received the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the DPRK, headed by director Kil Gong-chil), and had a friendly talk with him.

Attending was also Pak Yong-si, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotrentiary of the DPRK in Tirana.

New Volume of Hoxha's Works Published

AU1911152388 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1430 GMT 19 Nov 88

[Text] The 62d volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Works has come off the presses and is now on sale. This volume includes material spanning the period July-November 1977, some of which is being published for the first time. The writings in this volume are of political, ideological, and socioeconomic importance, and include discussions at AWP Central Committee plenums, the Politburo, and the Secretariat, as well as with working people, cadres, and friends. This material is of great value, not only concerning the period at which it was written, but also for the present and future. The volume includes an index.

Economic Progress Report for 13-19 Nov 88

AU1911165788 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 13 - 19 November carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Kolonje District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 November has been exceeded by 3.6 percent. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1430 GMT 19 November)

Kruje District: The Lac Chemical - Metallurgical Combine has exceeded its industrial production plan for the period up to 15 November by 6 million leks. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1430 GMT 19 November)

Librazhd District: The industrial production plan through 15 November has been exceeded by 1.8 million leks. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 18 November)

Skrapar District: The 10-month export plan was exceeded by 2 percent. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 13 November)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 12-18 Nov

AU191152688 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 12-18 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia and Reis Malile received the Danish ambassador on 12 November in connection with the presentation of credentials. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 12 November) Ramiz Alia and Reis Malile received the Syrian and Tanzanian ambassadors on 16 November in connection with the presentation of credentials. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 16 November)

Pirro Kondi and Kico Mustaqi attended a national meeting of young artists in Tirana on 11 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 11 November)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, on 14 November received the newly-arrived Syrian ambassador in connection with the imminent presentation of credentials. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 14 November) He also received the newly-arrived Tanzanian ambassador on 15 November. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 15 November) Reis Malile received on 18 November the newly-appointed ambassadors of Portugal and Mauritania in connection with the imminent presentation of credentials. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 18 November)

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, on 18 November attended a ceremony at which volunteers of the Milot-Rreshen-Klos railroad were decorated. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 18 November)

Zhivkov Greets 'Arafat on Solidarity Day

AU2811202788 Sofia BTA in English
1959 GMT 28 Nov 88

["Solidarity With the Arab People of Palestine"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council, has cabled greetings to Mr Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with the Arab People of Palestine.

The telegram reads:

"The Bulgarian people sincerely welcomes the proclamation of an independent Palestinian state. Just as before, we will persevere in our efforts towards the convocation of an international Middle East conference under UN auspices, to be attended by the permanent members of the Security Council and by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the friendly Palestinian people.

"We are profoundly convinced that the further progress along the road to a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict will create favourable conditions for the practical exercise of the inalienable rights of your heroic people."

Zhivkov, Atanasov Meet Soviet Delegation

AU2211193188 Sofia BTA in English
1850 GMT 22 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 22 (BTA)—Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received the Soviet governmental delegation headed by Mr Igor Belousov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, who are paying a visit here.

During the discussion the two sides exchanged information on the social and economic development in the two countries, restructuring in Bulgaria and in the USSR, which is being implemented in all spheres of life and which opens principally new possibilities for the development of bilateral integration processes and expansion of specialization and cooperation.

Special attention was paid to the future Bulgaro - Soviet interaction in the field of electronics and its broad and rapid introduction into the economy of the two countries. Questions of the cooperation in the production of machines and equipment used in the light and the food industries were also discussed and a stress was laid on the necessity of increasing the volume of high-quality consumer goods deliveries.

Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, took part in the discussion.

Mr Igor Belousov had a meeting with Mr Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers. They discussed the prospects for further advancing Bulgaro - Soviet cooperation in the economic, the scientific and the technological spheres.

The guest had also meetings with Mr Ognyan Doynov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and president of the Heavy Engineering Association; Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign economic relations; and with Mr Stoyan Markov, alternate member of Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Committee for Quality.

This evening Mr Igor Belousov and Mr Stoyan Ovcharov signed a protocol on the discussions held and the agreements reached, in which the stress is laid on the interaction in electronics, the coordination of the respective national economic 1991-1995 plans of the two countries and on the in-principle agreements for deliveries to be effected next year.

The delegation includes Mr Vladislav Kolesnikov, minister of the electronics industry, Mr Erlen Pervyshin, minister of the communications equipment industry, and Mr Valentin Smyslov, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Zhivkov Receives Hungarian Envoy's Credentials

AU1811091288 Sofia BTA in English
2135 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 17 (BTA)—The relations between Bulgaria and Hungary are being dynamically developed in all spheres. "Confidence is growing, new possibilities and forms are being opened for carrying on fruitful cooperation and interaction, based on the constantly growing international experience of the two countries", Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, said today on accepting the letters credential of Mr Sandor Simics, the newly appointed ambassador of Hungary.

Mr Todor Zhivkov pointed out that the possibility to rely on the sincere friendship and support of the other fraternal socialist countries, on the constantly extended cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is of great importance to the two countries in their constructive activities and the struggle for achieving the goals they share in common.

The Hungarian ambassador stated that his country attaches great importance to the advancement of the Hungaro-Bulgarian relations by raising them to a new higher level. "We stand for the improvement of the

cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty, the regular constructive consultations on all important problems and for the further strengthening of our partnership. The constantly improved activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is, in our opinion, an important factor which will influence the future economic development", Mr Sandor Simics said.

BCP CC Congratulates MSZMP on Anniversary
AU2811135188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] The BCP Central Committee sent a telegram of congratulations to the MSZMP Central Committee on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Hungarian Communist Party.

Stanko Todorov Departs for Warsaw 26 Nov
AU2811135288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, departed for Warsaw yesterday. He will participate in a meeting of parliament leaders from signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act.

He was seen off at Sofia airport by deputy chairmen of the National Assembly and by Wieslaw Bek, Poland's ambassador to Bulgaria.

Gorbachev Visit to India Positively Assessed
AU2311125388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Nov 88 p 5

[Unattributed, untitled, boxed commentary]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev's second visit to India in 2 years demonstrated not only the steady character of Soviet - Indian relations, but also the dynamic and prudent character of Soviet foreign policy in the entire Asian - Pacific region.

Naturally, the range of issues discussed in Delhi with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Venkataraman, was exceptionally broad. Logically, while discussing issues of the "closed circle," such as security in southern Asia and the Indian Ocean, the Afghanistan problem, and so on, the sides also touched upon all hot spots throughout the world, and discussed all basic issues concerning human civilization in general. The support of the Indian side for the decisive steps taken by the USSR along the road of decreasing the nuclear threat and in line with its consistent policy aimed at resolving all disputed issues through negotiations is understandable. Addressing Mikhail Gorbachev, Rajiv Gandhi said: "The world places its great hopes in you. In your country you demonstrated how dynamic changes can be combined with loyalty to basic principles. Glasnost and restructuring entered the vocabulary of all countries. In leading your country off the habitual roads you made the whole world relinquish traditional thinking."

We can specifically apply this assessment to the Asian - Pacific region, where the USSR's consisteni program of peace and security, which takes into consideration the interests of all nations, and which was eloquently expressed in Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, created a broad platform of constructive actions. It is true that during the year much suspicion and conflicts accumulated in this region, long overshadowed by the great problems of the nuclear confrontation. This turned future active Soviet - Indian cooperation and peaceful development of the countries in Asia and the Asian - Pacific region into a pressing necessity.

In recent years Soviet foreign policy in Asia drew the attention of that region's governments and nations to new ideas of strengthening security. Based on realism, balance of interests, and searching for common denominators of understanding, this policy is already producing specific results. Soviet - Chinese relations are improving. Regardless of the problems, the Geneva accords have already become a driving force. Favorable possibilities of solving the Cambodian issue have emerged. If politicians, rather than weapons, are heard more often now in the Asian continent, this is a result of the general development of international relations, and of searching for and finding common roads to mutually resolving the problems in the continent and the entire Asian - Pacific region. Mikhail Gorbachev's ascertainment in Delhi is remarkable: "The dialogue, which began to replace the methods of confrontation, acquired a new quality in world politics." For the Asian continent this means a safer future—a goal to which both the USSR and India devote their efforts.

Situation in Baltic Republics Viewed
AU2911104388 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Nov 88 p 5

[Article by Dimitur Gornenski, Moscow correspondent: "Riding Two Horses at the Same Time Is Impossible"]

[Excerpts] Moscow, 24 November—Meetings, demonstrations, declarations, and appeals in the press, on the radio, and on the television—this is the situation in which the people's fronts in support of restructuring the Soviet Baltic Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were established and are now conducting their activities.

Debates, controversies, discussions, and appeals were particularly intensified over the last month—the period envisaged for nationwide discussions about the current draft laws on amendments and addenda to the USSR Constitution and to the Law on Elections. [passage omitted]

The truth about the public movements expanding in the Baltic republics obviously requires a sober analysis and impartial evaluations. The emergence of such activities and their basic goals were welcomed by the party and state leaderships of the Baltic republics. At the same

time, however, certain harmful trends and manifestations of extremism, unbalanced evaluations, as well as the obvious efforts by certain small, nationalistic circles to encourage a confrontational attitude toward the principles of internationalism on which relations among the nationalities of the USSR, and among all union republics are based, were noticed on several occasions. [passage omitted]

The aforementioned movements stem from restructuring, as their initiators and leaders point out. Glasnost and democracy were their "godparents", so to say. They will exhaust their functions as soon as restructuring has become irreversible.

On the other hand, numerous authoritative public figures in the Baltic republics openly stress the existence of certain phenomena in the activities of the new movements which obviously violate the basic principles of democracy. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that complicated social processes are taking place in the Baltic republics. These processes resulted from the efforts to mobilize the constructive forces of society in the search for the most correct solutions in implementing the reform of the political system, for restructuring the economy, and solving social, ecological, and cultural problems in the interest of the entire population. [passage omitted]

A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee is expected to take place within the upcoming days and it will be closely followed by a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Amendments and addenda to the USSR Constitution are the principal items on the agenda of these sessions. This will mark the beginning of a great reform in the political system of Soviet society. A plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on national relations within the USSR will take place during the first half of 1989. Elections for the congress of the USSR people's deputies will be held and the staff of the permanent USSR Supreme Soviet will be formed. An entire system of soviets—from the supreme to the local government organizations in the republics is expected to be established. However, to cite the statement by a Soviet worker made during the nationwide debates on the two draft projects: The undisputed universal truth, that you cannot ride two horses at the same time, is still valid. In the conditions of intensifying democracy, the most important thing is that all decisions concerning the whole country should be adopted in accordance with the will of the entire people.

National Assembly Commission Discusses 1989 Plan
AU2711152088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 88 p 6

[Mitko Bozhkov report on a meeting of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development, "for preliminary discussion on the preparation of the 1989 budget and uniform plan on the country's socioeconomic development" held on 23 November in Sofia: "Positive Processes Are Confirmed"]

[Text] Yesterday's meeting of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development was attended by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, as well as by the leading bodies of all other National Assembly permanent commissions and by representatives of ministries and economic associations.

Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning, and National Assembly deputy, described the chief characteristic features of the 1989 draft plan and budget. The criteria laid down at the basis of the draft plan and budget guarantee the acceleration of the positive trends which emerged during the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan period. The draft plan and budget are based on the strategy of directing the economy toward an increasing satisfaction of the people's material and intellectual needs, toward the solution of social problems. The rates of speed and proportions of the budget and plan are providing opportunities for the acceleration of the country's development as a whole. Over 25 percent of the investments have been designated for the production of goods and services to the population.

The minister declared as follows: Of course, we cannot resolve all the problems. For this reason, the most important issues and priority trends were mapped out in the draft documents. The successes will depend upon the question to what extent the initiative and creative spirit of the people can be expanded, they will depend on the persevering efforts and mobilization of the self-managing communities and of all working people.

Ivan Pekhlivanov, National Assembly deputy and deputy chairman of the commission, submitted a series of suggestions and proposals on the subject.

He pointed out: The draft documents in question are marked by a trend toward a social orientation. It would be more expedient to clearly define the government's view on the future of Bulgarian villages. Would it not be a good idea to submit reports to the National Assembly on the goods and public services whose shortage will be eliminated and on the methods of providing sufficient supplies of such goods and services?

National Assembly deputies Peko Takov and Ivan Popov submitted recommendations on the draft documents.

Grisha Filipov, chairman of the National Assembly Permanent Commission on Socioeconomic Development, made the following closing remark: All ideas and recommendations submitted at this meeting should be examined by the Council of Ministers and the respective state organs. The goal is to increase the quality of the draft documents so that they may better respond to the requirements of the July Concept. A transition toward new technological production methods is required in this respect. The National Assembly permanent commissions at their forthcoming meetings will thoroughly analyze the 1989 draft plan and budget. This is a parliamentary task of exceptional importance.

National Assembly Session Announced

AU2811185988 Sofia BTA in English 1823 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—The State Council of Bulgaria convenes the 9th Session of the 9th National Assembly on December 15, 1988.

Control Committee Investigates Construction

AU2511151788 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 88 p 6

[Krasimir Tsigularov article: "Efforts To Accelerate Construction"]

[Text] The excessively wide scope of construction activities, the large volume of uncommissioned building projects, and the practice of introducing projects into the building programs whose effectiveness has not been confirmed and whose financial backing has not been ensured—all these shortcomings have recently emerged as serious problems which are slowing down the completion of decisively important projects for our economic structure, and sometimes even bring the social programs of people's councils and enterprises to failure. For this reason the Council of Ministers over a month ago adopted additional decisions for the commissioning of basic funds envisaged by the plan. This means that resources and efforts should be focused on the building projects designated for commissioning in 1988 and—on a long-term basis—to accelerate the construction process and to guarantee the commissioning of building projects envisaged for 1989. It is urgently required that we "freeze" part of the projects which are in the process of construction and some of those whose financial backing is already underway. Such a decision is difficult, and usually meets the vehement opposition of the economic managers. Nevertheless, it is the only decision likely to produce a prompt and real effect.

The investigation of the State and People's Control Committee in connection with the implementation of the Council of Ministers' decision shows that putting into operation the complicated, administrative apparatus is a rather slow process. The concentration of manpower and material resources on the building projects about to be commissioned is rather slack.

As a matter of fact, other, traditional methods exist which economic managers can use to avoid making the aforementioned decisions. Proposals have been submitted to halt a large number of building projects whose construction has not yet started and for which no financial backing has been ensured, so that no financial resources will be available.

Another trend is emerging, namely, the unjustified introduction of addenda to agreements and the revision of projects about to be commissioned for commissioning secondary projects and developments which cannot be produced independently, or cannot be completed on time.

In the long run, we are dealing with hundreds of projects for which capital investments amounting to nearly 1 billion leva in 1988, or to 2.5 billion leva in 1989, have been provided. These financial resources can accelerate the operation of building projects of structural importance, and can revive numerous municipal housing programs, programs ensuring a comprehensive infrastructure of inhabited settlements. It is obvious that energetic measures should be adopted to guarantee major national interests.

The State and People's Control Committee, at its meeting held yesterday, reviewed and discussed the results of investigations on the work of the municipal people's councils in accordance with their new rights and responsibilities, and in conformity with the implementation of the Council of Ministers Decree on further improvements in the development of public recreation zones, in zones reserved for building private weekend houses, and in agricultural areas.

Jakes, Husak Cable Greetings to 'Arafat

LD2811230288 Prague CTK in English 1657 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 28 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak sent Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a telegram of greetings on the occasion of the international day of solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine.

Czechoslovakia welcomes the results of the nineteenth extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council which gave evidence of the constructive realistic line it carries out and appeciates them as an important step on the road towards the settlement of the Middle East crisis by means of an international conference held under the auspices of the U.N. with the participation of all sides concerned, the telegram said.

Adamec Congratulates New Hungarian Premier

AU2811172388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Nov 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Hungary"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec sent a congratulatory telegram to Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, on his election to this office.

GDR Hands Over Two Escaping Czechoslovaks

AU2211155588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "Black Chronicle" column]

[Text] On Monday [14 November] members of the GDR People's Police handed over to us two Czechoslovak citizens at the Petrovice border crossing. They had illegally crossed the state frontier that day with the aim of reaching West Berlin across GDR territory. Their deed was motivated by fear of punishment for their extensive criminal activity in Usti nad Labem.

USSR Citizens' Shopping Spree Subsides

AU2511144688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Nov 88 p 2

["edk"-signed report: "Gradual Normalization"]

[Text] Vysne Nemecke (Our correspondent)— The eastern-most region of our Republic shares borders with three states, and thus problems with so-called tourist exports could be expected to be more marked here than elsewhere. Our customs officers at the sole road border-crossing point with the USSR in Vysne Nemecke did not have an easy time. Here, too, many tourists, in possession of considerable sums of Czechoslovak currency, were crossing the border, mainly to shop.

Michal Majdak, head of the customs house, informed us on Tuesday [22 November] that interest concentrated on exports of carpets, children's wear, footwear, and—to a lesser extent—foodstuffs. Many secondhand motor vehicles were exported. Such exports are now permitted only in exceptional cases, given the necessary documents, valid before 15 November, are in order.

"The day the new regulations went into effect, I personally informed the Soviet colleagues about them. The appropriate bodies in the friendly Transcarpathian Oblast were also informed. However, on the 1st day we had plenty of problems here, too. There are somewhat fewer private vehicles passing here now. The situation is normalizing on the whole," M. Majdak said.

Sales of Some Consumer Goods To Be Rationed

AU2211120488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Nov 88 p 2

[Eva Sadilkova commentary: "Essential Goods for Everyone"]

[Text] Some types of products belonging to the category of goods for everyday use, but also products that are not always readily available or products that could become scarce in the event of increased purchases, can generate inordinate demand if there is a sudden increase in interest in them. The result is that, while one citizen or family has disproportionate stocks of, for example, drugstore products at home, others are hunting about for them in vain. Although retailing organizations are trying to replenish stocks through prompt deliveries, in some localities they are often unable to fully satisfy customers' demand.

This week, following an agreement between the Ministries of Trade of the Czech and Slovak SR and local administration bodies, measures were therefore decreed to regulate sales of some types of products. This is a temporary provision which pursues the sole aim of making goods for everyday use available to everyone who is interested in buying them. In the last instance, the new customs regulations that regulate exports of consumer goods and foodstuffs within the framework of tourist trips pursue a similar aim.

The regulated sales of some goods that are in short supply are thus designed to contribute, over a period of time, to bringing supply and demand into balance. To a considerable degree, it is now up to regional and district national committees to abandon the regulated sales of individual products, in line with the situation that will gradually take shape in the localities under their jurisdiction. Naturally, much also depends on the understanding of buyers.

Jakes Visits Bohemia, Speaks on Restructuring

AU2211121088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondents Vaclav Pergl and Vladimir Smid and CTK: "Creative Thinking, Creative Deeds; 2d Day of Milos Jakes' Visit to East Bohemia"]

[Excerpts] Hradec Kralove— Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, continued his working visit to East Bohemia on Wednesday [16 November].

In the morning he first visited old-age pensioners living in the modern 14-story hostel for senior citizens in Hradec Kralove. [passage omitted]

In the nearby faculty hospital of the Regional National Health Institute Comrade Jakes visited the radiology clinic. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes also paid close attention to the newly built facilities of the cardiac surgery clinic and its modern equipment. He then had a discussion with the leading staff of the Regional National Health Institute, the faculty hospital, the medical and pharmacy school, and the J.E. Purkyne Military Medical Academy.

In the discussion Professor Steinhart, Academician Rudolf Petr, Professor Svatopluk Rehak, and others stressed the essential need to modernize therapeutic and diagnostic technology. Professor Pavel Navratil referred, among other things, to the shortage of anesthetists and to the need for faster restructuring in health care. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes expressed appreciation for the work of the physicians and nurses. He stressed that the material-technical base of health care must be put to good use and that it is necessary to ensure the education of highly qualified specialists. The purchase of expensive technology abroad is, however, also linked with the restructuring of our economy and with changes in its structure. It is becoming apparent that the funds which our state appropriates for the development of health care will have to be increased. Also connected with the purchase of expensive technology is its round-the-clock use and the timely training of specialists who are to operate it. Health education, which has been underrated thus far, will also have to be improved. [passage omitted]

In the J.E. Purkyne Military Medical Academy in Hradec Kralove, Comrade Jakes was welcomed by its chief, Colonel Docent Pavel Kuna, doctor of medicine and candidate of sciences, in the presence of Major General Vlastimil Jiranek, doctor of medicine and chief of the medical services directorate of the Czechoslovak People's Army. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jakes had an opportunity to acquaint himself with the conditions the academy acquired for its work in its modern facilities, the first part of which opened in 1985. [passage omitted]

On his way from the academy, the guest made a stop in the "Hvezda" supermarket. Together with its employees and with the management of the "Food" enterprise in Hradec Kralove, he discussed questions of supplying the food market with the needed range of products. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee participated in an aktiv of leading functionaries of party and state agencies, social organizations of the National Front, and representatives of the labor collectives of major enterprises, plants, and other institutions in the region. The aktiv was devoted to the current tasks of society's restructuring. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes took the floor in the discussion.

He described his visit to East Bohemia as very useful. I highly regard meetings with people from various walks of our life, he said. In the discussions I have conducted here, the main emphasis was laid on support for party policy. At the same time, the view was expressed that it should be implemented consistently and that shortcomings in its implementation should be eliminated more vigorously. I believe that it is a correct approach when words of appreciation are linked with criticism of various phenomena, whose overcoming requires far greater attention. The visit demonstrated, he went on to say, that it is important to meet people and to openly discuss problems with them. This applies not only to the functionaries of central bodies, but also to those at all lower levels. The times require that we more emphatically implement the "facing the masses" slogan, that we consult the people, make use of their ideas, critical comments, and views, and that we also correctly guide them, showing them what needs to be done. They require that the tasks of accelerating the socioeconomic development of our country be fulfilled more consistently, that the nascent process of restructuring and democratization continue to develop successfully, and that it also be successfully completed, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed.

Comrade Jakes emphasized the efforts of the regional committee, party bodies and organizations in East Bohemia, and the management structures to come to terms with this year's tasks and to minimize shortfalls, especially in fulfilling the 5-year plan. He also expressed appreciation for the many pledges that he received, in which the employees of various enterprises undertook not only to meet their tasks but to produce extra goods for the domestic market. The same appreciation must be expressed for the endeavor to eliminate obstacles standing in the way of a higher efficiency of work, whose results must serve the people and the further development of the socialist society.

He went on to characterize the present stage in light of the conclusions of the 7th, 9th, and 10th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. He mentioned the close attention that is being paid to the work of the party in order to make it a true vanguard, a militant detachment that formulates policy on the basis of the experiences of the people, uses the Marxist-Leninist ideology as its point of departure, and is able, by setting an example in implementing this policy, to also carry others along. The issue facing us is to deepen internal party democracy so that every member and candidate member may become actively involved in the party's work, its decisions, and the control of its policy, and for everyone to consistently fulfill the tasks that have been assigned to them, regardless of the sector in which they work and live. It is absolutely essential to change the method of exerting influence on and managing social processes. People without party affiliation and members of other political parties must be engaged in our work, Milos Jakes stressed. In this connection he spoke about the role of the National Front as an alliance of political parties and social organizations. It is on its platform that we must conduct talks on future policy and deal with the implementation of our party's policy. The National Front and its agencies at all levels must unite our people in the endeavor to reach the set target. This is a way of galvanizing people into action.

The general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee spoke about the resolution of the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee on the party's ideological work. He stressed that the task of explaining the restructuring and democratization of society, the party's policy, and its international implications and aims is coming to the fore, for people to come to understand what is at stake, for them to take an active part in the implementation of this policy, and, also, for them to be resistant to a number of hostile influences that seek to cast doubt on restructuring and to destabilize the socialist society.

Restructuring is not a one-time act. We are now in some kind of a period of transition. Many old approaches are ceasing to operate while new ones are yet coming into existence. Not everything has been cleared up and brought to a conclusion, which is true even of the legislative sphere. As has been set out in the program statement of the CSSR Government, we regard as the most important task the accelerated transition of the entire national economy to the conditions of the new mechanism of management as of 1 January 1990, that is, a year earlier than originally projected. We realize that the period of transition will generate some temporizing, that one will wait to see what will go into effect and how, and so forth. The step involved is an important one and it carries with it great demands on our work, on the acceleration of all processes, and on enlisting people for participation in their implementation.

The goals we are setting ourselves cannot be reached without a firm starting base, especially in the material sphere, Milos Jakes continued. The point is that the process of accelerating the socioeconomic development must get off to a better start than has been the case until now, because so far we have been falling short of the intensification targets and of the planned growth of national income. Nonetheless, we do implement social policy in line with the directive of the 17th CPCZ Congress. It is even developing at a faster rate than planned. A serious discrepancy is arising between what we are capable of creating in the economy and what we want to distribute. We can no longer afford to implement the social program without generating the necessary resources. More than 2 years [of the 5-year plan] lie ahead of us. Much can still be done, but only if we proceed correctly. Our aim is to fulfill the Eighth 5-Year Plan, even if this will be fraught with some problems.

Comrade Milos Jakes briefed the participants in the aktiv on preparations for the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which will be held in December.

In conclusion he expressed his confidence that the East Bohemian party organization would be the party's firm mainstay in meeting the demanding targets of the socialist society's restructuring and democratization.

Stepan, Jakes Address Organizations' Chairmen

AU2811151988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Nov 88 p 1

[Report by Nada Adamickova, Vaclav Pergl, and CTK: "The Party—The Driving Force of Restructuring; All-Prague Conference of Chairmen of Party Organizations"]

[Excerpts] Prague—An all-Prague conference of chairmen of party organizations, convened by the Prague CPCZ City Committee, was held in the Palace of Culture in Prague on Thursday [24 November]. It dealt with the current tasks of party bodies and organizations in implementing the conclusions of the 7th, 9th, and 10th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. The conference was attended by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The main report was delivered by Comrade Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee.

The proposal to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress a year earlier and to switch the entire national economy to the conditions of the new mechanism as of 1 January 1990, means that many of the things we intended to do tomorrow will have to be done today, that the pace will have to be speeded up, that in the entire period prior to the next party congress we will have to develop political, labor, and civic activity.

It means that party organizations must practice an open policy, based on public access to information, toward labor collectives, that they must consult people without

party affiliation on all matters, including cadre matters. They must combine ideological work with political, organizational, and managerial activity and see to it that managerial personnel at all levels become actively involved in it. Some party organizations continue to stagnate, with the result that they do not take the lead in restructuring within the range of their activities. Formalism and stereotyped action in these organizations linger on, and some of their membership meetings continue to be fruitless. This also has an impact on the preparation and entry of young people into the Communist Party. However, it also finds its expression in the inconsistent exercise of the right of control, in the assignment of specific tasks to Communists, and in their assessment.

The party's political offensive means to raise the standard of each organization's entire activity, to come to terms with shortcomings more vigorously, to place exacting demands on oneself, and to see to it that each party member is active and sets an example by his exemplary conduct.

The complexity of the forthcoming tasks is rooted in the fact that the situations and problems that arise have until now been unknown and require maximum attention. This has been demonstrated, for example, in the course of the establishment of state enterprises. Even though the tasks were clear and comprehensible, they have not been projected everywhere in the work of primary organizations and all party members.

While the elections of party committees and of enterprise committees of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement were not fraught with any problems, elections of self-management councils and directors did make many organizations feel dizzy. However, the founders of state enterprises and often even individual departments of CPCZ city and municipal district committees were also unprepared. In some organizations not even one of the proposed candidates was elected as a result. A discussion that we had at the city committee revealed many shortcomings that accompanied the preparation and course of the elections, which provide instruction for the next round of elections. The founders mostly relied on everything running in the accustomed grooves; another shortcoming concerned cases in which only one candidate was proposed. Moreover, the founders did not fight for their candidates and left everything up to them. The city committee expects party organizations in the ministries to markedly increase their activity and to become more vigorously involved in all processes concerning the restructuring of central bodies. This process has been tediously slow so far, and the expected contributions are minimal, in terms of workstyle as well as in vacating premises for the city of Prague.

The success of restructuring also depends on current economic results. The situation in Prague is not exactly the best in this regard. We must not be content with the results attained in production efficiency, the application of scientific-technical development, and in the quality and technical standards of products. There are still many organizations that fall short of their planned tasks, including ZPA Kosire, PAL Kbely, Avia Letnany, Praga, Tesla Hloubetin, and so forth.

A similar situation prevails in the building sector, although one cannot ignore the fact that some transportation projects have been successfully completed, particularly the Motol-Repy streetcar link, the Antonin Zapotocky bridge, and the extension of the "3-B" line of the Prague subway. Housing construction is trailing behind, however. Only 2,331 apartments have been completed, whereas the plan provides for 6,431 apartments. At the same time, only 822 apartments have been handed over to their users. The situation in services and in supplies is similarly unfavorable. Citizens' criticism is mounting, despite the measures that have been taken with respect to supplies of consumer goods and food to the population. Citizens want, and have every right, to spend the money they earn on goods they want to buy.

The discussion that followed was characterized by an open and critical approach. Microphones had been placed in various parts of the congress hall and on the balconies. Participants in the discussion made full use of them in speaking from from the floor. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes, too, participated in the discussion.

He spoke with appreciation of the conference of the chairmen of party organizations from the capital as an opportunity to unify views on solving the most important current problems and reacted to some suggestions raised in its course.

In his speech he went on to say that a proposal to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress in May 1990 would be submitted to the next session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The significance of this congress, Milos Jakes continued, is determined by the times in which we live, by the need to reach a new quality of our society on the basis of its symbiosis with scientific-technical progress and a comprehensive deepening of socialist democracy. The congress will evaluate how we have entered this stage, what we have achieved. It will assess, in particular, the pace of our restructuring and the degree of democratization, and will adopt measures aimed at further accelerating socioeconomic development for the benefit of every individual, our society, the world of socialism, and peace. This is why we understand preparations for the congress not as an act of ceremonial meetings, but as an open talk, an efficient activity of all Communists, and their mobilization for the fulfillment of set targets.

Milos Jakes then spoke about the present stage of the restructuring process. He stressed that the party's Central Committee does not have any doubts about the correctness of the line that has been embarked upon and

that it is taking energetic steps to implement this line. A number of documents have been adopted in this regard. However, this in itself will not do. It is necessary to upgrade the ideological and organizational unity of the party to the level of the new tasks. Adopted resolutions must be energetically implemented and their implementation reviewed and, if they are not implemented, conclusions must be drawn against specific persons. Specific tasks must be laid down to counter passivity. Experiences must be constantly evaluated and generalized upon, and progressive experiences must then be flexibly spread. The CPCZ Central Committee is determined to wage this struggle, and it will also guide lower-level party bodies and organizations in this spirit.

Every element and individual, every Communist has his rights, duties, and responsibility, Milos Jakes continued. Everyone must have his sphere of full competence. We must put an end to responsibility-dodging, indulgence toward shortcomings, and egalitarianism, all of which have nothing in common with social justice, with socialism. It is precisely here that ideological work among people is of great importance, for everyone to come to understand the aims of restructuring and to see the linkage of his interests with the interests of socialism. In this connection he stressed the need to further develop the principles of the policy of openness and public access to information and to promote socialist democracy. The full activity of the masses cannot be achieved without them. The party and all Communists must take the lead in these processes. However, it is also necessary to listen to the views of nonparty people, of citizens, of the fellow builders of socialism so that they, too, feel that society trusts them fully. Communists must differ from non-Communists only by their even more exemplary conduct at work, by a higher degree of ideological motivation, and by their knowledge of our targets and the ways to reach them.

In conclusion, the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee expressed the conviction that the Prague city party organization would continue to be the CPCZ's mainstay, that in the period to come the Communists of Prague would do their utmost to implement the revolutionary tasks of economic and social restructuring, so that Prague becomes a new source of patriotism, not only by virtue of its past, but also by its great present and future.

Official Calls For New Anti-Gypsy Legislation

AU2511143588 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Nov 88 p 5

[Article by Engineer Rudolf Schuster, candidate of sciences and chairman of the East Slovak Regional National Committee: "Let Us Not Be Afraid of Polemics, of Diverse Views"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The East Slovak party and state bodies cannot remain passive when it comes to solving the problem of the unadaptable Gypsy population. The demands for a solution of principle to this problem are growing in strength at citizens' and public party meetings. A continuation of the lax approach to this problem would mean a failure to react to difficulties that alarm citizens and their families. Even our superior bodies do not like to hear about this worry of the East Slovak region. Everyone evades the issue, claiming that it does not fall into his competence and that it is a matter for regional bodies. This was also confirmed in the last couple of days when Slovak National Council committees held a joint meeting in our region. For the East Slovak region and its citizens, however, this is a problem which they cannot evade. Within the framework of the Leninist principle of openness and public access to information, it is urgent to say in which direction our social policy with regard to this group of the population will proceed.

A total of 132,752 Gypsies now live in the region, which is almost 55 percent of their total number in Slovakia. Demographic projections estimate that in the year 2000 the number of Gypsies in our region alone will exceed 200,000. Because of a shortage of suitable job opportunities, able-bodied Gypsies who are willing to join the work process are leaving the region; those who stay behind are mostly feeble-minded and mentally retarded. Owing to them, the crime rate, offenses against morality, and the size of the unhealthy population are increasing in our region. In some housing estates and villages, unadaptable Gypsies literally discriminate against citizens and restrict their personal liberties. This is why I believe that the problem that I have raised here cannot be solved by the methods that have been used to date. It is necessary to proceed to legislative amendments that would enable actions of principle to be taken against all unadaptable citizens, including Gypsies. In consultation with bodies active in criminal proceedings, we have prepared in our region measures that may seem to be harsh at first glance, but which are inevitable in the interests of society.

The facts that I have mentioned confirm the statement by Comrade Milos Jakes at the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, that by failing to react truthfully and in due course to the real problems of society's and people's lives, we are creating scope for the influence of another ideology, for forces that are trying to discredit and weaken socialism and to destabilize it politically. Our ideological and entire mass political work in general must constantly bear this in mind. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 3-8 Nov

AU1211142188 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 4 to 9 November report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline of each report is given in parentheses):

A reception given by Soviet Ambassador Viktor Lomakin in honor of the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR] in Prague on 3 November

was attended by Ladislav Adamec, Mikulas Beno, Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Miloslav Hruskovic, Gustav Husak, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 1)

A gathering marking the 71st anniversary of the GOSR in the Prague Palace of Culture on 7 November was attended by Adamec, Beno, Bilak, Fojtik, Haman, Hanus, Herman, Hoffmann, Hruskovic, Husak, Indra, Jakes, Kempny, Lenart, Pitra, and Stepan. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 1) On the same day, a solemn ceremony at the Soviet Army's burial ground at the Olsany Cemetery in Prague was attended by Adamec, Bilak, Haman, Hoffmann, Husak, Indra, Jakes, Kempny, Pitra, and Stepan. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 1) A gathering marking the 71st anniversary of the GOSR in Bratislava on 7 November was attended, among others, by Janak and Knotek. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 1) Janak and Knotek were among those who took part in a solemn ceremony marking the 71st anniversary of the GOSR at the Slavin memorial ground the same day. (Bratislava PRAVDA, 8 Nov 88, p 3)

A session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee in Prague on 3 November was attended by Jakes, Kempny, Pitra, and Urbanek. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 1)

A meeting devoted to the solution of problems pertaining to the development of Prague and the Central Bohemian region, in Prague on 3 November, was attended by Haman and Stepan. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 2)

A session of the club of Communist deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 7 November was attended by Adamec and Jakes. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 1)

Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended an aktiv of builders of a bridge in Prague on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 1) Beno received a delegation of Swedish Communists in Prague on 4 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 5 Nov 88, p 2)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Rene Rodriguez Cruz, chairman of the Cuban Institute for Friendship Among Nations, in Prague on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 1) Bilak received—on separate occasions—Dusan Rovensky, the new CSSR ambassador to Ethiopia, in connection with his taking up his new post, and Jacques Hamann, the French ambassador, at the latter's request, in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 1)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, chaired constituent meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Educational Commission in Prague on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 2) Fojtik attended the opening of a painter's exhibition in Prague on 3 November. (PRAVDA, 4 Nov 88, p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, paid a visit to the Avia engineering enterprise in Prague on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, chaired a meeting of the Presidium of the Slovak National Front Central Committee in Bratislava on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, arrived for a working visit in the Senica district on 5 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 7 Nov 88, p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, chaired a meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee National-Economic Commission in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee, attended the opening of the A. Zapotocky bridge in Prague on 3 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 4 Nov 88, p 2) Stepan received Oleg Bogomolov, director of economics of the World Socialist System Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 2) Stepan received Lieutenant General Eduard Vorobyov, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Armies in the CSSR, in Prague on 8 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 9 Nov 88, p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended a trade union meeting in Prague on 3 November. (PRAVDA, 4 Nov 88, p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, presented to Lt Gen Cyril Rabusic the Order of the Red Banner on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Prague on 7 November. (RUDE PRAVO, 8 Nov 88, p 2)

Hungarian German-Language Paper Now Unobtainable
AU2511114388 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 24 Nov 88 p 4

[H.-Ruediger Karutz report: "SED Secretly Withdraws Another Glasnost Paper From Circulation"]

[Text] Berlin—After the draconian banning of the explosive Moscow monthly press review, the colorful SPUTNIK, the GDR censors apparently want to prevent people from reading the last East Bloc paper that is politically very open. According to reports from East Berlin, the German-language BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU can no longer be obtained at newsstands. The question whether the weekly—like SPUTNIK—has been officially struck off the postal service's list of newspapers remains unanswered. "At any rate, the paper is almost impossible to get anywhere," insiders say.

For years the BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU has been known to insiders to be a good source for reading about the "new thinking" in the East Bloc. The mid-November edition uses formulations such as: disturbed relations between party and masses; unsuccessful party policy toward the intelligentsia; consistent and radical economic reform, expansion of market economy; pluralism and a constitutional state as pillars of future social understanding—all these are phrases from a report on the session of the MSZMP Central Committee at the beginning of November.

Pillar for New Consensus

When the SED Central Committee convenes for the last regular session of the year during the first week of December, the next day GDR readers will be able to read the usual uniform speeches. How much the GDR's internal development is lagging behind the Hungarian leadership style—while facing identical problems—is proved when one looks into the latest BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU of 14 November. A headline that is revolutionary compared with East Berlin standards announces the leading article: "Social Market Economy, Pluralism, and Constitutional State Are To Be Pillars for a New Consensus."

Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz expressed in exact terms the sentiments of the GDR readers of this weekly, which is normally passed on like a samizdat publication. The magazine writes about him: "In his analysis of the developments within the party (he) pointed out that the basis, which has not been able to substantially participate in shaping policy because of the undemocratic structures, does not feel responsible for the wrong decisions and their results...."

Memories of 17 June 1953 [date of a great popular uprising in the GDR]—still a trauma with which the SED leaders have not come to terms—emerge when the readers in the GDR find the following passage about the Central Committee session in the RUNDSCHAU report: Central Committee Secretary Berecz pointed to a "number of starting points" for the party "which have hardly been taken into account for a long time ... for instance the democratic mass movement that developed from summer 1953 to October 1956 and urged renewal and the break with the heinous policy of the Rakosi leadership." The emotive term "Stalin"—obviously the motive of the SED leaders to ban SPUTNIK—can be found several times in the above-mentioned edition.

Suppressed by Censorship

The magazine writes in a precise way about what the GDR church papers have been calling for for months and which has been suppressed by the SED by means of censorship: "Numerous participants in the discussion urged the working out and implementation of a new social model with appropriate self-correcting mechanisms, which is to replace the current model adopted by Stalin. It was said that if the spirit of reform does not clearly gain ground in the party, this will only benefit an opposition that is listing toward the right..."

The enormous positive echo of the GDR's population to such ideas is proved by a slightly ironic review of this year's Leipzig Fall Fair in a previous RUNDSCHAU edition. This review notes that, even though Hungary concluded practically no trade contracts at the Pleiss River, the BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU achieved an internal business success: The copies printed on the occasion of the fair met with "great interest" on the part of the fair's visitors, were sometimes handed out as "samples," and were quickly unavailable, "to the general regret...."

Commentary Criticizes USSR's SPUTNIK
AU2811170588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Nov 88 p 2

[He. commentary: "Against the Distortion of Historical Truth"]

[Text] On 19 November the magazine SPUTNIK was struck off the postal service's list of newspapers. Reason: It does not contribute to strengthening German-Soviet friendship. "Instead," it publishes "distorted articles on history." This is unfortunately true. And this does not apply to only one edition. The distortion of the history of the Soviet Union and the CPSU, and also of the history of other countries and their revolutionary parties is, so to speak, SPUTNIK's line.

It goes so far as to write: Would there have been a Hitler without Stalin?— "Stalin paved the way for Hitler." Yes, even worse: "It turned out that Stalin was basically Hitler's puppet." So far, with all due respect, such things have only been heard from unscrupulous people in the West who are excusing fascism—distortions which are

incomprehensible to all those who experienced this period or those who, as in our country, were educated in the spirit of antifascism and learned the historical truth about fascism.

Who paved the way for Hitler? In reality, the volunteer corps, the Reichswehr—which was the first to permit his public agitation—financial magnates, monopolists, and big landowners paved his way. Hitler was their puppet, their tool, to put it more precisely.

And more on the truth: In the 1918 German November Revolution, which was passionately welcomed by Lenin, workers and soldiers put an end to war. They swept away the crowns. They shook the rule of German imperialism and attained democratic and social rights.

But the revolutionaries were defeated as a result of the fatal pact between Ebert and General Groener, the representative of the Supreme Army Command. Therefore, Lenin's doctrine—which was expounded in his pamphlet "Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky"—that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the supreme form of democracy, remained unfulfilled.

Instead of this, the dictatorship of the monopolies was stabilized. The Nazi Party grew. When it lost approximately 2 million voters during the major class struggles of that time, in the 1932 November elections the industrial barons, without hesitation, took the reins into their hands. They delivered an ultimatum to Reich President von Hindenburg, former field marshall of the kaiser, to help Hitler gain power and finally make him chancellor of the reich.

This took place precisely at the time when Ernst Thaelmann was having discussions with social democratic functionaries about how an antifascist unity front could be created. But the struggle against the danger of fascism that was carried on by the KPD, which was founded in the heat of the November Revolution, was not successful in preventing Hitler's appointment as chancellor of the reich on 30 January 1933, which paved the way for Nazi dictatorship. This was the way in which the German people and many peoples were plunged into World War II.

This war against the—as the Nazis put it—"Jewish-Bolshevik danger to the world" led to the decimation of entire peoples. It concluded the inhuman chapter of the "final solution of the Jewish question" with 6 million victims. The war of aggression against the Soviet Union claimed the lives of 20 million members of the USSR peoples. The German people, the majority of whom were led astray, paid for Hitler's war with 6 and ½ million dead.

And yet, every German had the opportunity to read Hitler's programmatic work "Mein Kampf" and to learn in time what this criminal, for whom monopolists and militarists had paved the way, wanted: a bid for world supremacy, the destruction of "worthless lives," conquests, and merciless extermination—a war that had to rebound on the country from which it had emanated. Ernst Thaelmann had warned in time: Whoever chooses Hitler, chooses war.

And did this Hitler, according to SPUTNIK, become possible only due to Stalin? Through the man whose name was connected with the victory over the aggressor and the act of liberation by the anti-Hitler coalition? Through the man who did not swear vengeance against the Germans, but who said: Hitlers come and go, but the German people remain?

With social democrats, Christians, and other humanist forces, and also the Army, the German Communists were part of the anti-Hitler coalition. They made the greatest sacrifices in antifascist resistance. But SPUTNIK claims: "The German Communists did not dare join forces with the social democrats in the fight against the Nazis." Because of the 1939 German-Soviet nonaggression pact they "obeyed" Stalin, who "ordered the immediate halt of any antifascist propaganda."

But were there not thousands upon thousands of Communists and social democrats who fought together in illegality? In the cellars of the Gestapo? In the prisons and concentration camps? In exile—were there not many in the ranks of the Soviet Army later? And, immediately after the pact, did the KPD not develop a political platform which aimed once again at establishing the unity of action between the workers class and an antifascist people's front against Hitler's dictatorship and against war?

But all these things do not exist for SPUTNIK, which not only distorts the history of the Soviet Union but also that of the KPD. The magazine, frankly speaking, defames the German Communists and their allies who fought for a new Germany of democracy and socialism from 1918 onward, after 1933, 1939, and 1941, and whose struggle was fulfilled by the founding of the GDR.

Frankly speaking, in our antifascist and socialist German state, "excusing," clearing Hitler, fascism, and its crimes, and "explaining" them by inventions, that is, according equal status to Hitler and Stalin, are inadmissible. Such representations are in contrast to the GDR Constitution, to its preamble, which says: "Continuing the revolutionary traditions of the German workers class and based on liberation from fascism, the GDR people, in accordance with the historical development processes of our epoch, have implemented their right to socioeconomic self-determination, self-determination as a state and nation, and are shaping developed socialist society." Article 6: "The GDR, true to the people's interests and international commitments, has eradicated German militarism and Nazism. It pursues a foreign policy that serves socialism and peace, international understanding, and security."

However, one has to know: SPUTNIK is not a CPSU organ. The "historical representations" which the editors pick out of all possible and impossible articles are in flagrant contradiction to what Mikhail Gorbachev said about the CPSU's history on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

For us, they are, above all, in contradiction to the German-Soviet friendship, which is a constitutional principle, a state policy, and a matter that is near to the hearts of millions in our country. They are in contradiction to the content, sense, and words of the latest meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. They are inconsistent with our basic conviction.

For the sake of our friendship with the Soviet Union, the propagation of distorted representations of the Soviet people's historical achievements in the GDR is unacceptable to us.

Government's Rejection of Soviet Reforms Viewed

AU2511134888 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 25 Nov 88 p 1

[Commentary by Theo Sommer, DIE ZEIT editor in chief: "He Is Stalling Again; SED Chief Honecker Does Not Want To Know Anything About Perestroyka"]

[Text] The German Communist state has been cordoned off from the West for 27 years. Now Erich Honecker is also closing up toward the East. He is insulating doors and covering gaps in the windows: The winds of change, which have been blowing with rising intensity from Moscow since Gorbachev's assumption of office, are not to enter the GDR.

Those in power in the other German state have repeatedly changed their position in the interlacing interests of the East Bloc. As for the policy of detente, they marched with the Soviets at one time and against them at another. Under Walter Ulbricht they belonged—together with Prague's old Stalinists and the cold warriors in the Kremlin—to the "Iron Triangle" of those undermining the dialogue; under Honecker they then formed an axis of readiness for dialogue with the Hungarians during Gromyko's last years. Therefore, it is not foreign and security policy that separate the SED chief from Gorbachev. It is Gorbachev's vigorous clearing out of junk from socialism in the Soviet Union, which Honecker's old men disapprove of, fear, and try to avert in their own country.

Perestroyka? We do not need it, the SED leaders say; we already carried out our economic restructuring after 1971, and restructuring the political system is completely out of the question. With this arrogance SED ideologist Kurt Hager told STERN 1 and ½ years ago: "If your neighbor puts new wallpaper on the walls of his apartment, would you feel obliged to put new paper on your walls, too?" In his SPIEGEL interview Gorbachev gave a late but unequivocal answer to this: "It is ... not a question of painting or putting up new wallpaper, but of thoroughly reconstructing the house in which we live." Only of the Soviet house, Hager responded; the Soviet goals cannot be transferred to other socialist countries. Demonstratively stressing the right to his own, stubborn way, Honecker subsequently celebrated the visit of Transylvania's mini-Mussolini Ceausescu and placed the highest GDR order around his neck. An alliance of outsiders?

But what about glasnost? This, too, is nothing for the GDR leadership. A bit more variety in art and literature, perhaps, but only within certain limits. More lively media instead of the dreary mouthpieces for announcements and agitation? Completely unnecessary; after all, there is Western television. Open discussion about the terror of Stalin's time? Better not.

A few months ago, a manuscript of the late Johannes R. Becher discussed this topic in SINN UND FORM. Now, however, the East Berlin "Main Administration for Eternal Truth" has crossed the Soviet magazine SPUTNIK off the postal service's list of newspapers and thus practically banned its distribution; the October edition was dedicated to coming to terms with Stalin. The magazine—subtitle: "Digest of Soviet Press"; GDR edition 180,000 to date—has been unavailable at newsstands for 2 years. "It does not publish reports that serve German-Soviet friendship but only distorting contributions to history," was the terse justification of the ban. Then there is the seizure of three editions of Moscow's NEUE ZEIT and the striking of three reformist Soviet films from movie programs. GDR citizens are permitted to watch Western television, but not films from the East. The SED leaders are obviously more afraid of the deviations of the comrade-in-class in the Kremlin than of the heresies of the class enemy.

Why this interference? The abstract struggles of East Berlin's ideologues with Moscow's ideologues? The continuous censoring of church papers? The expulsion of critical students from the Carl von Ossietzky School in Pankow because they doubted the sense of military parades? The banning of an international church session on issues of peace? Perhaps the SED leaders are convinced that Gortbachev will fail anyway and that therefore, they do not need to pay attention to his ideas, which only cause unrest. In any case, they are afraid of everything that may cause discussion. The call for change, no matter where it comes from, is not to meet with an echo in the GDR.

The atmosphere is bad in Honecker's republic. The lack of supplies is worse than it has been for a long time. The easier exit regulations and the more generous approval of trips to the West have not eased the pressure in the boiler; rather, the permanent patronizing has made it rise. The forthcoming replacement of today's ruling generation causes additional uncertainty.

The GDR is in bad condition, a state without varnish or luster or prospects. The Germans in the other state are those who are suffering the most under these conditions. However, they must also be a disappointment to all those who had thought the GDR capable of being a motive force in the process of change between the Kyffhaeuser Mountains and Kamchatka. It has become a drag.

SED Bodies Greet USSR's Yazov on Birthday
AU1111111288 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The SED Central Committee and the GDR State Council have conveyed cordial greetings and congratulations to Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of national defense, on his 65th birthday. The greetings message, which is signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, says: "I take your day of honor as an opportunity to sincerely thank you for your contribution to consolidating and deepening the unshakable militant alliance between our parties, states, and peoples and the comradeship-in-arms between our armies, a guarantee for the safeguarding of peace in Europe."

Mueckenberger Receives Soviet General Snetkov
AU2711151588 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] Erich Mueckenberger, president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received Army General Boris Snetkov, supreme commander of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG], for friendly talks in Berlin on Wednesday [23 November]. Taking part in the meeting were members of the Friendship Society Presidium, Colonel-General Nikolay Moiseyev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Administration of the GSFG, and other generals.

The Soviet guests visited the German-Soviet Friendship Society's central building on Kastanienwaeldchen and the exhibition on the 60th anniversary of the League of Friends of the Soviet Union. They also familiarized themselves with the cultivation of traditions of German-Soviet friendship.

FRG Attitude Toward War Criminals Condemned
AU2811213988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Nov 88 p 2

["Stan" commentary: "Principle of International Law"]

[Text] The document that was adopted 20 years ago today by the world forum of peoples was described as a "significant milestone in the history of human justice:" It was the convention on war crimes and crimes against humanity not being subject to the statute of limitations. Thus, a principle of international law which had long been recognized worldwide was stipulated. As a result, all states were obliged to consistently prosecute and punish all such crimes, irrespective of when they were committed.

In the GDR, this principle of international law has always been understood as a historic mandate and an antifscist-democratic legacy. It is a principle that is part of the Constitution and that is embodied in the law. From the first day of the liberation, everything was done to exterminate fascism and militarism once and for all. A total of 12,879 war criminals and persons who committed crimes against humanity were convicted on our territory, 12,000 of them by 1950.

Things are quite different between Hamburg and Munich. Denazification and the prosecution of war criminals increasingly became a farce. Mass murderers were not arrested. Murderers in black gowns, who had been whitewashed, were again allowed to administer justice. Armchair culprits have occupied posts at the centers of power ever since the birth of the FRG. Some 200,000 Nazi and war criminals have never been prosecuted.

If charges were brought at all, never-ending investigations followed, and lenient verdicts or no verdicts at all were handed down. Thaelmann's murderer Otto and SS hangman Malloth, a guard in the Theresienstadt concentration camp, are only recent examples on a long list. After 1945, a total of 91,481 investigations against Nazi criminals have been dropped, and 83,835 have been concluded without punishment.

The GDR has always considered it its duty to support the competent authorities in other countries in clarifying such crimes. This is not only a question of atoning for the killing of the millions of victims of fascism and war. The merciless punishment of war crimes and crimes against humanity must also be understood as an important precautionary measure. At a time when imperialist strategists continue to dream about a nuclear war that can be won, the pitiless prosecution of yesterday's mass murders gains particular significance.

Woerner, Galvin Statements on Arms Criticized
AU2511193388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 88 p 2

["He." editorial: "Thought Patterns of NATO"]

[Text] Last week's session of the "North Atlantic Assembly" shows that the NATO leaders are sticking to their old thought patterns. There was no response to the proposals of the Warsaw Pact states on disarmament, confidence-building, and peace—and there was still no sign of NATO's own security concept, the lack of which has been publicly deplored by the partners themselves for years.

Already on the 1st day, U.S. General Galvin, NATO's commander in chief, made his views quite clear to the parliamentarians from the 16 alliance states: sticking to the "policy of strength" and to the strategy of "deterrence," the core of which is, as is known, the first use of nuclear weapons.

NATO Secretary General Woerner followed suit. In the "current situation" nuclear weapons "continue (!) to be indispensable"—and therefore, of course, also their "modernization," which in reality is only another word for reequipping, or, even more precisely, counterarmament. In this connection, it is a characteristic aspect that the "modernization" of nuclear and conventional weapons is also taken into consideration with ever greater intensity by the FRG Government. The "justification" again is the outdated legend of the alleged threat from the East, particularly because of its "oppressing superiority" in armed forces and conventional armaments.

However, NATO is in a dilemma particularly as regards this point. What about the proposal we have put on the table to reduce just these armed forces between the Atlantic and the Urals to the level of being incapable of launching an attack—by eliminating asymmetries and by taking into account equality and equal security on both sides? And also to get rid of the devilish nuclear equipment with ranges under 500 km? Is this the "threat" that one has to "deter"?

Many people in the West do not take that eyewash quite seriously anymore. In the FRG, for instance, 94 percent of the people do not believe in a threat; 79 percent want to get rid of all nuclear weapons in Europe; 68 percent are against the "modernization" intended by the NATO planners (and which is already being carried out secretly).

Logically, in Hamburg numerous NATO parliamentarians were against the theories and practices of the Woerners and Galvins—for instance, CDU Deputy Biehle, who asked how one intends to explain to the citizens why "every week the Warsaw Pact presents a new disarmament proposal" but that the West does not respond to it. However, such reservations were voted down and motions to amend the resolution were rejected. This is deplorable because in this way the progress of disarmament is being blocked.

On the other hand, the above-mentioned "doubts of the public in modernization and in nuclear deterrence itself" are increasing so drastically that it was impossible to proceed without mentioning them in the resolution with the above-quoted words. Obviously, one needs the intensified struggle of the peoples so that reason and realism gain a breakthrough in the alliance, the consistent continuation of our socialist peace and disarmament policy, of course, and, not least, the intensification of political dialogue.

U.S. Refusal of Visa for 'Arafat Assailed

LD2811174688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1331 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The U.S. decision to refuse Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, an entry visa to attend the UN General Assembly's debate on Palestine triggered incomprehension in the GDR, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told ADN today. It is known that the United Nations is a proven venue for solving problems in international relations, including regional conflicts, by means of dialogue. The spokesman referred to the constructive resolutions of the 19th extraordinary meeting of the Palestine National Council in Algiers in which the PLO said it is prepared to make its contribution toward a lasting and just solution of the long-standing Middle East conflict. This decision by the United States is contrary to its accepted duties in binding international terms as the host country of the United Nations.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-16 Nov

AU1911083888 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 11 to 17 November reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members attended a ceremony marking the founding of a synagogue in Berlin on 10 November: Erich Honecker, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenter Mittag, and Guenter Schabowski. (11 Nov, pp 1, 4)

The following Politburo members attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Weissensee on 10 November: Erich Honecker, Werner Jarowinski, Guenter Schabowski, and Willi Stoph. (11 Nov, pp 1, 4)

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Berthold Beitz, chairman of the board of curators of the Alfried Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach Foundation and chairman of the board of Friedrich Krupp, Inc., in Berlin on 16 November. (17 Nov, p 1)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, appointed leading academy officials in Berlin on 16 November. (17 Nov, p 2)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, held talks with representatives of the Salvadoran Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front delegation in Berlin on 13 November. (14 Nov, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, bid farewell to 800 youths from Mozambique in Berlin on 10 November. (11 Nov, p 4)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, received the heads of the delegations who took part in the conference of the multilateral commission of socialist countries on problems of cultural theory, literature, and art, in Berlin on 16 November. (17 Nov, p 2)

Joachim Herrmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by the Indian ambassador in Berlin on 14 November. (15 Nov, p 2)

Werner Jarowinsky, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception given by the Belgian charge d'affairs on his country's national day, in Berlin on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 2)

Army General Heinz Kessler, Politburo member and GDR minister for defense, received Lieutenant General Jaroslav Matyas, commander of the National Air Defense of the CSSR, in Berlin on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 2) Heinz Kessler also visited the "Soja Kosmodemjanskaja" formation of the "Heinz Hoffmann" unit of the National People's Army ground forces in Berlin on 16 November. (17 Nov, p 2)

Guenter Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Angolan Industrial Minister Santos in Berlin on 10 November. (11 Nov, p 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented awards to young researchers at the Masters of Tomorrow Fair in Leipzig on 14 November. (15 Nov, p 1, 3)

Siegfried Lorenz, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a ceremony in commemoration of the 1938 pogrom night, in Karl-Marx-Stadt on 13 November. (14 Nov, p 1)

Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by the Angolan ambassador in Berlin on 11 November. (12-13 Nov, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, laid a wreath at the Herbert Baum Memorial in Berlin on 10 November. (11 Nov, p 8) Guenter Schabowski also attended a works delegates' conference of the Berlin housing construction combine on 13 November. (14 Nov, p 1)

Harry Tisch, member of the Politburo and chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Council, received Romain Vilon-Guezo, general secretary of the National Trade Union Association of the Working People of the People's Republic of Benin and vice president of the World Trade Union Federation, in Berlin on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 2)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, attended a works delegates' conference of the Weisswasser Lausitz glass combine on 13 November. (14 Nov, p 1)

Nemeth Interviewed on Democratization Issue

PM2911110688 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 27-28 Nov 88 p 11

[Interview with Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers Miklos Nemeth by Andrea Tarquini in Budapest; date not given]

[Text] Budapest—"Either democracy or disaster: This is what we face, so we have decided to opt for the road to pluralism. We hope the 1990 general elections will be free. By 1992, when West Europe will be united, we want to resemble your countries more—in politics, the economy, and culture." This is the credo of Miklos Nemeth, Hungary's new prime minister, whose task it will be to try to manage Budapest's return to a multiparty system after 40 years.

Nemeth is himself 40 years old, small but dynamic, both assertive and polite with everyone he talks to in the bar in the parliament building, where some day the communists may no longer form the elected majority. In his blue suit—elegant, but not too elegant—and smoking one Kent after another, Nemeth recalled "those unforgettable years" at Harvard, but added: "I have asked the Hungarian newspapers to omit my studies in America from my official biography. I am a simple man and I do not want to boast."

Hungary's Gonzalez

He does not boast, but he never stops working. At the moment he sleeps 4-5 hours a night, meets with Grosz all the time, and tomorrow is to meet with the labor unions, which are unhappy about his austerity plan. "He is our Gonzalez," [Spanish prime minister] Grosz says of him. Perhaps he also wants to resemble Adolfo Suarez [Spanish Social and Democratic Center chairman, former prime minister] or Imre Nagy. Here is the interview he granted us:

[Tarquini] Dr Nemeth, exactly when and how will pluralism begin to operate? Will the Communist Party risk and accept an election defeat?

[Nemeth] Pluralism has already begun. True, we are only in the first phase of the process, but the party and government leaders are determined to accelerate the process and to increase its substance and scope. The only limit we will set will be to prevent anarchy. Personally, I believe that processes of thorough change can only take place through a gradual, long, and integrated development. It is the duty of us leaders to promote this integrated development, not to hinder it.

[Tarquini] What will be the timetable for the "slow march to freedom"?

[Nemeth] The first thing I want to stress is that the law on civil associations to be submitted to parliament next month will permit the formation of parties. This citizens' right is guaranteed by the constitution. Immediately afterward we will start drawing up a law on parties. By March we will guarantee the right to public assembly. We want to give ourselves time to build democracy while avoiding chaos. I am sure it will take a couple of years. However, I want to be cautious when making promises on such an important subject.

[Tarquini] So in 1990 you will have the party congress, then a general election, perhaps free. Does this mean that by 1992 Hungary will resemble West Europe more closely from the institutional viewpoint?

[Nemeth] Yes, I do not rule out the possibility that by 1992 Hungary's political development will reach the stage where several parties can operate, because by then the new constitution will have come into effect. However, if we communists manage to adopt correct stances with regard to a multiparty system, I am not afraid of our losing power in an open competition. This process and the climate of open competition will release new energies and new forces within society and the party.

[Tarquini] But how do you expect to gain support and popularity with an unpopular economic policy that promises unemployment, higher taxes, and reduced unemployment benefits—in other words, the semidestruction of the socialist welfare state? Do you really believe your government will last long?

[Nemeth] I accepted this post in the knowledge that my personal ambitions are only a minor factor and entirely unimportant in relation to the country's interests and needs. Economic restructuring is needed and a new system of profit incentives must be created. Hungary's energies must be released in the economy, as in politics. We must extend the scope for entrepreneurs' activities, offer investors a different environment, help the strongest and best businessmen to improve further, and at the same time guarantee a social policy of assistance to the less prosperous.

"My Government's Duties"

All these will be my government's duties. What about unemployment? It is certainly not a banner that we brandish, but we do consider it a necessary result of economic modernization, of the return to a market economy. Above all, our entire economic policy should be anti-inflationary in character. (Inflation in Hungary runs at approximately 17.7 percent, the foreign debt totals $17 billion, and zero growth threatens social cohesion—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note)

[Tarquini] After so many failed socialist experiments, do you not believe that your reforms will be too litte too late to break down the barrier of mistrust between the government and governed?

[Nemeth] True, we are lagging behind, because for many years we concerned ourselves solely with economic reforms and ignored the need for political reform. Hungary's economic reform was the first in the socialist world, but our mistake was to be inconsistent in economic reform and to have forgotten political reform. Now, however, Gorbachev in Moscow is helping us to launch our program, though this does not imply a desire to copy him.

[Tarquini] Can the West help you?

[Nemeth] The West can help us best if we succeed in doing our best to turn Hungary into a truly democratic and open country. Then joint ventures and the flow of capital will help us become a genuine part of Europe, of its political life, and of its culture, to which we belong by virtue of our historical roots and national traditions.

[Tarquini] Will the gravity of the economic situation and the need for unpopular measures not make a recovery and a reconciliation with the country impossible?

[Nemeth] Democracy will help us control the dissatisfaction that unavoidable decisions will cause. I repeat, the priority is to reassess human capabilities in every sphere and to create a climate of competition.

[Tarquini] Yesterday Grosz ruled out another summit with Ceausescu. Do you intend to contact Bucharest to resolve the crisis with Romania?

[Nemeth] Yes, we have proposed a meeting between me and Romanian Prime Minister Dascalescu. We remain willing to talk, but I believe it will take at least a year or two before we can meet—and not because it is our wish. [Nemeth ends]

The interview was over; Nemeth made his excuses and returned to the chamber for the debate on the economic crisis. In the corridor we encountered a great economist and a courageous political scientist—both among the foremost representatives of the regime. We asked them: Do you know how much your plans reflect the Prague Spring and Dubcek's speech in Bologna? Their reply was unanimous: "Yes—and it is no coincidence." The impression is that, just as a century ago Marx saw the specter of communism haunting Europe, now another specter haunts Budapest and the whole of "the other Europe" —the specter of a change of course attempted unsuccessfully in Prague 20 years.

Grosz, Nemeth Queried on Parliamentary Session

LD2711050088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth by unidentified correspondent on 26 November in Budapest; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Dear viewers, the November parliamentary session ended a few minutes ago, and I want to ask the outgoing head of government and the newly elected premier what feelings they had when they stood up in the session hall? What did they feel over the last 2 and ½ days?

[Grosz] Personally, I had quite contradictory impressions of this 2-day debate. On the one hand, I heard very many opinions which were clever, thoughtful, cultured, and level-headed, but critical of every agenda point. Naturally, I was preoccupied with the assessment of the Government's performance over the past year.

At the same time, I have to say that it was with quite a bitter taste in my mouth that I noted a phenomenon: More and more people act as if they do not respect enough the place where they are speaking. They quite lightly and freely use adjectives which perhaps would not be proper to use here.

[Correspondent] Excuse me, very many parliamentary deputies believe that the purpose of parliament is to debate.

[Grosz] This is not debate. I fear that it does not strengthen parliament's esteem. I do not believe that it is possible to reach an intelligent decision or to have a high-standard valuable debate, a clash of opinions, by means of making others the object of ridicule or perhaps wanting to create spectacular momentary effects or moods. I do not consider this to be compatible with the seriousness of debate. Naturally, everyone has the right to judge how much a parliament can endure or what it requires, and in what form his speaking style or outlook can be represented. In any event, I do not sympathize with this and it appears to me that it has been increasing recently.

The other thing which makes me think is that we already debated a year ago the government's plans and parliament's role; its legislative work, designating the direction of development, regulating the government's freedom of maneuver, and supervising its work. Nowadays I see that in more and more issues what is characteristic is not a separation of work and the shaping of a correct relationship, but their merging into one another. More and More elements are appearing in parliament's work which are actually government activity.

At present, the extent of this is not dangerous, but it could become so very easily. A new danger is also appearing on the horizon: While we sort out the relationship of the party, social organizations, and state organizations, in the meantime responsibility for work is merging together.

[Correspondent] Karoly Grosz has sat in parliament for a long time; Miklos Nemeth has done so for only a few months. How do you judge the past 2 and ½ days?

[Nemeth] To what comrade Grosz has said, I would add that I listened to and watched the debate from afar, from the viewpoint of future tasks and jobs. Well, I have to say

that pressing tasks were already given yesterday. We had to agree—and comrade Villanyi also briefed parliament on it—that in connection with one of parliament's decisions we must begin again, over the weekend and in the first days of next week, to put together a plan to balance the budget. We have to prepare proposals for the government's Thursday session so that we can come here with a sense of responsibility in December.

So for me, the experience and lesson was directly and primarily linked to tasks. At the same time, because I have not been a deputy for long, the impressions and feelings about which comrade Grosz spoke also churn within me, but I do not dare take a stand on this on the basis of such a short time in parliament.

[Correspondent] Allow me to make use of the fact that you, if I am right, are standing together as a pair for the first time in front of the cameras. Allow me to say, on behalf of the viewers as well, the following: For 3 days Miklos Nemeth has been premier of the government which Karoly Grosz formed 17 months ago. For 3 days he has directed the government program which is also linked to the name of Karoly Grosz. As premier you will now receive political assistance from the two ministers of state: Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers. As secretary of the Central Committee—since to my knowledge, you have not yet been relieved of this function—you are a subordinate of Karoly Grosz. To what extent, properly speaking, is the head of government independent and what is the division of labor between you two at this moment?

[Nemeth] Perhaps I can begin. I am not betraying a secret by revealing that at the December session of the Central Committee I will ask to be relieved of my position as Central Committee secretary. This is in harmony with our aim and practice to clear up the division of labor—here I mean between the party and government or party and state—which we have been doing consistently since May and which we will also pursue in the future.

Therefore, in this sense we will ask for a few weeks of patience; in this regard, the situation will be clearer. However, regarding who is the boss, where, and in what manner, I can say with conviction that as a party member I not only agreed but supported whole-heartedly everything that Comrade Grosz did in government in the interest of the independence of government work, of creating scope for maneuver. Why should I think that this will change in any way? Karoly Grosz proclaimed this, he did this, and I believe that this is how it will be in the future too.

[Grosz] I also have two comments. One: This is a formal, dual commitment at the moment because Miklos Nemeth has already sat in the chair which is set up for the premier—in a large room, which is the size of a soccer field—and we jointly began a discussion of upcoming tasks. We will continue this. So, if you please, the preparation for the transfer or handover has already begun.

It would be good if in the future people remain in the Central Committee, and also in other party positions, who work elsewhere. I could also put it, using old terminology, as there being voluntary officials [tarsadalmi tisztsegviseloek]. Of course, I am not thinking of the premier volunteering to be a Central Committee secretary. I could not imagine that...

[Correspondent, interrupting] (?You) tried it once before.

[Grosz] I tried it and it does not work. At the moment, I get my pay in this house, and there, what I do, is voluntary work. But seriously, I say that I can conceive of there being cases, perhaps nationally or locally, where not just state officials, but let us say, economic managers who hold a leading position somewhere in the party.

Regarding what this division of labor will be, I admit that if a person's position changes—even if it is not probable or a necessity—his conception of the world changes. What we have done up to now we have shaped jointly. Please think back to the'85 party congress, because that is where this joint thinking began. The end of'86, June'87, and then the'88 party conference. Therefore, what we are now doing, by shaping the cooperation between one another and by continuing the earlier decision that there should be an undertaking of roles between the party and the social organs, the state organs, which ultimately harmoniously complement one another but do not overlap, this is a joint resolve which I must support and help from the Central Committee headquarters.

I also have to say that it will be more difficult for me to do my work there, since I did the two together temporarily, and it took less time for me to make myself understand what methods should be used to achieve this. Regarding how this will be in the future, obviously we still have to talk a lot about this, and we have to ask the advice of others who view from outside the activity of both of us. That is also very important, since they are able to judge more objectively where and how; regardless of intention, we are unable to do this.

[Correspondent] Here is another subject but it is linked to the previous ones. Even by international standards, Hungarian diplomacy in the past 17 months has been characterized by unusual activity and this is primarily linked to the name of Karoly Grosz. Does this oblige Miklos Nemeth to do anything and, if it does, what?

[Nemeth] Absolutely. On the one hand, it obliges me in that all the things that Karoly Grosz as general secretary and prime minister did in the interest of creating conditions for the functioning of Hungarian society and economy—I have in mind primarily international economic

and diplomatic issues—have begun to be implemented in practice. An enormous number of things are still left to do. What I can say is that the handling and the managing of these is one of my duties and I list them among my tasks.

On the other hand, we have no reason whatsoever to decline invitations to us or retract our invitations to others. Naturally, the situation and the need will decide these questions. We intend to maintain—and we shall maintain—flexibility in our international political and economic activity.

[Grosz] Well, I would like to add one thing here, something which I consider very important. This is the interest which our country has attracted which initiated these very many travels. It was not sympathy for Karoly Grosz which led people to invite me but rather the enterprise which the Hungarian people had begun to undertake. The world is curious about what we say, the way in which we think; it is curious to see whether we have the courage to carry out our plans. It also wants to know—and for this personal acquaintances, too, are needed—through what kind of inner conflict we reached the stage of decision. I am convinced that even though there is a new head of government this curiosity, interest, and sympathy will not decrease because it is addressed to the cause and not to the person. As for ourselves, we who serve in whatever post, we have the obligation to satisfy this interest because we do so not in our own interest but in the country's interest. A political leadership which does not make use of this evolving openness, which does not take the opportunity, commits a very great sin against its own people and country.

[Correspondent] I do not know whether you have seen today's issue of NEPSZABADSAG and the cartoon in it. If I may, I will show it to you—and the TV viewers, too, will be able to see it—and I put the question now. At one time Karoly Grosz—if I remember correctly—said that his government would probably not be popular. What is more, he said that it would be an "I-do-not-like-it" government. Knowing the short-term economic perspectives, Miklos Nemeth, the new prime minister, cannot expect to be popular either. What is more, even more dramatic than this, formulations have been voiced in public opinion—particularly in recent weeks—saying that whoever becomes prime minister, could easily be forced to resign by events. When you accept this office, you obviously took this into account. In view of this, how do you formulate your program now?

[Nemeth] Please, if you are offered such a responsible job, you think through a lot of things. I did so, too, and I concluded that whether I leave this post as a successful, a failed, or a semi-failed prime minister at some future date, personal ambitions in this respect are insignificant [huszad vagy szazadrangu] in view of our ability to push the country along the road of progress a little bit, to strengthen the process of stabilization, to move it in the direction of resurgence. I would like to comment on the second part of the question as well. In my career, in the majority of cases I have taken jobs and tasks often beyond my ability. Well, it is not for me to pass judgment as to how successfully or effectively I did these.

I will do everything in my power not to leave this office as a failure. However, it does not mean that this could not be in the cards. I would put it as follows: I like to be on a winning team, to be a winner.

[Correspondent] I know that it depends on you, too, as to how you will direct those events which could determine whether you can be a winner in this position.

[Nemeth] Regarding the cartoons, I can only add that something is not accurate in it because this big stone which we see at the head of Karoly Grosz has been held over our heads; we have been holding it jointly for a very long time. At least this is what I feel.

[Grosz] Not to mention that it appears that the end of the rope is coiled around my neck. If I hand this over to Miklos Nemeth he will drag me along. So I do not want to be a stone around his neck, but the cartoon is very witty. I would like to comment on the question. At the party conference in May we decided that we would not elect people for decades or give mandates to people in leading posts. We will not do so because the past decades, alongside great achievements, have become the cradle of many failures. When we examined the reasons—whether it was the intention or something else which caused the failures, why tensions accumulated—we concluded that, among other things, the change in personnel and mobility in leading positions in the country had slowed down very much. No matter how talented, how well-intentioned people are, after a while regardless of their will they become the slaves of their previous decisions. They fall in love with what they have done; they can only change gears with great difficulty. In other words, to keep for an excessively long time leaders in the same position is to increase the dangers stemming from a subjective source.

Of course, I must add to this that the social atmosphere which exists must be changed. There are two types of people: failures and people at the peak of success. this is not the case, this is not true, it is incorrect. What should be normal is for society to consider it natural for leaders to seive for a time—even their becoming tired is human—and it is also conceivable that they can renew themselves somewhere. It is not at all certain that we must wait until the last minute when he is completely failed, when he can no longer carry out his duties and he is written off by the country, excuse me for using the expression. Thus, I think that neither the new prime minister nor the present party general secretary are

persons elected for decades. For all that, they can leave their functions with heads held high when they are relieved provided, of course, that they have done their jobs.

Personally, both in my capacity as party general secretary and as Karoly Grosz, I have an overwhelming interest in that I think the team should win. Partly because everywhere in the world political forces stand behind governments, and behind this government it is the forces wanting socialism which are lined up, and within the forces of socialism the MSZMP is the most organized force. This is our government so we will support this government and the new prime minister is our prime minister.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much for accepting our invitation and I wish you success.

[Grosz] Thank you very much.

Grosz Views Activity After Leaving Premier Post

AU2911103788 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Nov 88 p 5

[Unattributed interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz: "The Party Should Strengthen the Government's Mass Support"—in parliament, on 24 November]

[Text] [Question] We would like to hear a short summary of the past 1 and ½ years: What do you regard as achievements and what do you regard as weaknesses?

[Grosz] There have been, of course, more weaknesses than achievements. In my view, our main achievement in the government activity is that we have succeeded in working out and constantly modifying a concept on how to develop our future.

Another thing that I consider to be an achievement of the past 1 and ½ years is that we have firmly begun implementing our basic concept, namely, on making the government acquire an independent nature. The third achievement is that we not only tried to implement a reorganization of government institutions but that we have also started to do this. The past 10 months have proved that it was worth starting this activity. Besides, it is also an achievement that the government has become much more collective in its outlook, a real body. However, we should continue to develop our government activity. More ministries will be merged in December. This will enable additional talented young people to join the state leadership. Out of the current 18 members of the Council of Ministers, there are only 7 members today who were ministers or heads of national main authorities before June 1987.

It is difficult to judge whether this was a proper renewal, but when one thinks of calling on the government to resign, one should also consider that a relatively new government would resign. A new government should not resign because this could also cause international instability. Besides, my period as premier was a period of travels. People thought that we have been traveling around for economic reasons. Economic reasons are very important, but we also attributed great importance to making the world know and understand Hungary better.

As for the weaknesses, I spent too much time dealing with everyday issues. We have not developed a strategy on many issues, mainly in the economy, although one cannot live without such a strategy. Minister of State Rezso Nyers will assist the new premier in formulating such a strategy. This is what I asked him to do and he has promised to do this. Besides, this is the reason why this solution is better than the other way around, a solution that was indeed considered previously, namely to appoint Rezso Nyers as premier and Miklos Nemeth as minister of state.

The fact that both comrades showed great discipline in declaring that the bodies should decide made my task much easier.

Another question also emerged: Why appoint another minister of state instead of another deputy premier? It is not enough when one person substitutes for a premier. We need a statesman who can move more freely: The position of minister of state enables such a greater flexibility.

[Question] At the Central Committee session held at the beginning of this week, you asked this body to support the government. Is this unconditional support or critical support?

[Grosz] I think we need unconditional support in the initial period, and later, this will turn into critical support. Why? Here we are not talking about a trying period but about the fact that everything that we want to do now is moving on a joint path. As soon as the concept described by Imre Pozsgay begins to materialize, namely that the government activity becomes responsible and independent, the party will exercise self-restraint in dealing with everyday issues. Thus, the government will inevitably also come across issues in which its answer will be either correct or false. Then, the party will voice its criticism. By support, I mean primarily the need for the party to strengthen mass support for the government.

[Question] Now that you are turning all your energy to party matters, what will, in your opinion, demand your particular attention in the coming months?

[Grosz] Two things: First and foremost, the need to convey our position on issues that greatly concern the party members to the party movement in the real sense of the word. These are the following: the role of the party, the new policy of alliance, the alternative groupings, and the multiparty system. We have developed opinions on most of these issues. I am saying this because for

example, we are currently exchanging views and debating the issue of a multiparty system. If we take it seriously that we have to engage in politics, then we also need support for this activity.

The other thing that requires special attention is the task of reviewing the party institutions. I do not mean here the apparatus but the development of a new work style for the guiding bodies. A reorganization of the work methods and work style is needed on all levels, from the center to the county and basic party organizations. Today, it is not enough to merely declare this requirement, we should also carry this out. I think of participating in this activity, being there at the basic organization meetings and party committee meetings, arguing with them, summing up the lessons and channeling them back into the movement. Well, this is what I mean when I say that "I want to take the country on my back" and, as long as I have the power to do it, I want to be present everywhere, and I want to encourage my colleagues to do the same.

People's Front Leader Huszar Interviewed
LD2911024288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Interview with Patriotic People's Front Secretary General Istvan Huszar by unidentified correspondent in the studio; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Here in the studio we continue our conversation with Istvan Huszar, secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front. At last week's session of parliament we had an opportunity to talk to the new premier, Miklos Nemeth, and Minister of State Rezso Nyers also. They agreed that the new government has to be a coalition and include the People's Front. What do you think that means?

[Huszar] I think that the structure of power, which is parliament and the government as well, should reflect the political currents and conditions existing in the country. Naturally, I could also say this applies to the spirit of national consensus. So government and parliament should not be limited to just the members of one party. It is likely—I think it is conceivable and it would to my mind better express the real balance of power and political divisions—that the proportion of party members will diminish.

[Correspondent] How can this be done in practice? If new parties are not established but there are political organizations and social strata which want to assert their rights publicly then it is not easy to even imagine a coalition government like this.

[Huszar] Well, it is not easy. To change the composition of parliament, a parliamentary election is needed, but to modify the composition of the Government a parliamentary election is not needed. So it is obvious that when the political situation is more clear...[Huszar changes thought] Today it is not very clear; there are many factors present which indicate that we are still trying to find our way. Internal arguments are also tearing the various organizations apart. This is true for traditional organizations as well as new organizations. So there are no calm political conditions and I think this will mean continuous change.

[Correspondent] Even the thought of a coalition government presupposes that the party exercising power gives up its monopoly on power. Well, very many people say that history does not have a lot of examples of this.

[Huszar] No, it does not have a lot of examples like this. Well, of course, if the political party is the only party, if it has plans aimed at reforming the party's activity, and if it takes seriously—and I hope it will take the resolution of the May party conference seriously—the resolution, in which it says it does not wish to operate as a governing party but, as the slogan says, as a politicizing party, then should we not ask whether all the posts of power in the government should be occupied by party members?

[Correspondent] You have said just now, perhaps only accidentally: according to slogans, as they say. So you mean it is said but not done, or it would be done but it is not possible, or the circumstances are not right?

[Huszar] No, no, it is still just a slogan, that is what you mean, it is still a slogan and not practice.

[Correspondent] There are two counterarguments in the people's minds. Nobody wants a tragedy like 1956. The way the Polish crisis is being handled also does not seem to be an example to follow. There is a need for a new Hungarian solution, for a consensus and national coalition. What do the People's Front and the party get from this?

[Huszar] I think, first of all, that the People's Front should be an independent, salient political organization. Thus, it should cooperate with its member organizations. I see it this way, this is an historical truth: When the People's Front was established, the Communist Party and later the MSZMP [as heard] acted as a midwife. Basically the party is only one of the member organizations of the People's Front; it has other member organizations as well. For example, the trade unions, the METESZ [Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations], the Red Cross; I do not want to list them all. There are other organizations as well and there are such organizations working on their own initiative which were established within the People's Front. So, if you like, this is a very comprehensive social and political institution. Therefore, I think, it can truly survey the real conditions in society. If it has surveyed and understood social conditions well, then it can represent society in the forum where political decisions are made.

[Correspondent] Is this what the People's Front and the party can do?

[Huszar] The party has to acknowledge this, well the party [passage indistinct] when does the party have a leading role in a country? Not when the party's leading role is declared in the Constitution but when it is able to carry out functions that go with the leading role and this is accepted socially. So, what are they? Well, think about this strategy; think about the future picture of Hungarian society. Moreover, think about what kind of operational model there is for such a society on the basis of a realistic analysis of actual processes, which formulates policy and deals with cadre questions. Accordingly, this somewhow makes this leading role socially acceptable and exercises stronger influence on people's minds. If it fulfills all these then it has a leading role; if it does not, then despite any declaration it will not have a leading role.

[Correspondent] We are at a very delicate point. Saturday, on the "168 Hours" program Rezso Nyers said that in the economy there are undoubtedly informal groups and lobbies which can be identified only with great difficulty; but they certainly exist and have an effect. It is very difficult to stand up against these. The other part of the matter is—and it is well known that the bureaucracy always has a separate interest—the governmental bureaucracy has it anywhere in the implementation, everywhere...

[Huszar, interrupting] That is true.

[Correspondent] Well, these people—and you have put it well—mouth slogans about changes and reducing staff but it seems to me that they will have to work against their own interests.

[Huszar] Well, the relation between the bureaucracy and the associations (?also) has to be reconsidered. The bureaucracy actually directs the elected bodies but it should serve them. I feel very bad when a bureaucrat treats, let us say, a Central Committee member like one of his own activists. This must be stopped and this is a political decision. I think it is intolerable for the bureaucracy to direct the political processes. But, of course, it is up to the political leadership to direct the bureaucracy. I was very glad that at the last session of the Central Committee a unanimous decision was made regarding fundamental political questions connected with the role of the bureaucracy.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Pozsgay, Nagy Speak on Trade Union Accord

LD2911034888 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] First of all, you will hear about the consultations between the government and SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] leaders. Our colleague Attila Balint has interviewed the leaders of the two negotiating groups, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay and SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy.

[Begin recording] [Balint] First of all, two facts relating to this year: Those receiving a child care allowance will receive a one-time only payment of 1,000 forints in December, as will pensioners on less than 3,000 forints (per month]. The first agenda point saw a clash of diatmetrically opposed standpoints. Originally the government had wanted to regulate the right to strike in the Labor Code but the trade union did not agree with this. How was a compromise reached on this issue?

[Pozsgay] By both sides moving away from their starting positions. It has to be said in this connection that the trade unions, on the other hand, wanted the right to strike to be regulated in the Trade Union Law. From these two starting points, we moved closer to one another and we ultimately found a formula to resolve this. In essence, the government will submit to the January session of the National Assembly a separate draft law for regulating the right to strike, taking into consideration the preliminary coordination and the lessons of the debates conducted with the trade unions. [passage omitted]

I would just like to say that, particularly on the issue of the collective bargaining agreement, the trade union showed itself to be a very hard negotiating partner. I fully understand this position since it starts out, with justification and good reason, from the point of view of the employee's interest, first and foremost. The government, on the other hand, must start out from the viewpoint of the joint interest of the employer's and entrepreneur's labor tax. In spite of this, I see a possibility for agreement on this issue at the January session of the National Assembly. [passage omitted]

[Balint] When the discussion of the second agenda point was concluded, that is to say everything connected with next year's plan and living standard policy, then Imre Pozsgay said that we have moved away from the state of constant war, but not with offensives, rather with agreements. Because the two started out from fairly distant points. The government proposed a minus six percent real wage reduction, and the trade union minus three percent. Then the trade union requested a compulsory general wage increase; the government did not even want to hear about this, because where would differentiation be, in that case? On the issue of raising pensions, there was a difference between you of a good 200-250 forints. And I could list the differences.

[Nagy] Several billion forints on the central measures.

[Balint] Precisely, six percent. The trade union started out with eight and the government with two. Well, how did you manage to bring these distant standpoints together? What is the end result?

[Pozsgay] The end result, in the matter of wage measures, central wage measures, is this: a 4.1 billion forint government declaration and commitment, which, knowing our situation and our viewpoints, the trade union

also accepted and appreciated, in the end, with the proviso that the government must further research the resource side of such and similar wage initiatives, that such a wage increase should not have an inflationary effect, but that on the contrary it might even serve to improve the real wage situation. And further with the proviso that this central budgetary wage measure should be devoted first and foremost and chiefly to improving the situation of workers in the health service, education, and public education. [passage omitted]

[Balint] Imre Pozsgay also comments on something in connection with the raising of pensions, namely that it is worthy of attention that retired persons, those who are no longer at work, have to be given ever greater support, and that this is more and more at the expense of active workers.

[Pozsgay] I would not like this to lead to a misunderstanding. For it is true that it was a question of this. This, too, only demonstrates the misery which Sandor Nagy alluded to. For who would dare to allege in this country that pensions are good and that they adequately guarantee existence and a humane quality of life? Unfortunately, there is no question of this. It is merely a question of this: that if the distributable portion of the national income is meagre, then both the government and the SZOT stand on the side of those who are in the greatest danger. For these are the social groups which cannot defend themselves, either against inflation or against other income-reducing trends, tendencies, whereas the workers can still to some extent ease their situations, by exerting their strength or by maximizing their wages in one way or another. But it is very bad that this is how it is, because in this way that part of the national income which could be spent on increasing performance becomes even narrower. So, as they say, we are in a trap, and only increasing the national income could lead us out of this trap. [end recording]

Horn Queried on Policy Towards Romania

LD2511231988 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 25 Nov 88

[Interview with State Foreign secretary Gyula Horn by Alajos Chrudinak on the "Panorama" Program date and place not given—live or recorded: no video available]

[Text] [Chrudinak] Good evening. Only the arrogance of power and stupid hate can think up such provocations as have befallen our commercial counsellor in Bucharest and his household employee, Erzsebet Janossy, of Hungarian nationality: unfortunately, we have not heard of her since her arrest. We note with concern, deep sorrow, and a certain sense of helplessness the irrational passions which attack us and those who are the most defenseless, the Hungarians in Romania. I have talked to State Secretary Gyula Horn.

With the latest anti-Hungarian provocation by the Romanian leadership, the tense situation between the two countries has sharpened even further. In your view, what motivated President Ceausescu to take this step? What did he want to achieve with it?

[Horn] Well, I cannot determine with any accuracy who prepared this ,who decided this issue. It is beyond doubt a very regrettable event. More so, because it indeed further increases the tension between the two countries. I think that this has not benefitted anyone, neither our cause nor the relations between the two countries. Rather, we should be looking for the ways and means of reducing the existing tension. It is this that is of fundadmental importance, not resorting to means of this sort.

[Chrudinak] What can we do in reply?

[Horn] Well, we have given a reply; we took a similar step to the Romanian one. However, I have to say that we must certainly deal with—at various levels, particularly in governmental, state circles—the question of what steps we can to take to improve our relations.

We thought that the Arad summit would be the start of a more favorable process in the relations between the two countries, in that many issues would be put on the agenda which were sources of tension in the relations between the two countries for a long time. Unfortunately this did not happen.

On the other hand, this question must be examined also from the point of view of what is useful and what can be done. I think that the most important thing would be to pick up once more the thread of negotiations.

[Chrudinak] Are you thinking of another meeting like the Arad one, or something else?

[Horn] Well, look, it is still true that at some point a meeting between the premiers must be put on the agenda. Well, now we have a new premier; it is conceivable that at some point he will take this opportunity when his other duties permit him to do so.

We must put on the agenda such issues as the problem of regional settlement; after all, at Arad there was a proposal to investigate this matter on the spot. We must put on the agenda once again the question of the reestablishment of the chief consulates, cultural relations, the joint commission of historians, and the whole host of topics which are extremely sensitive in the relations between the two countries.

In other words, it is necessary to negotiate once again. We are partners in this. But for the moment we cannot negotiate, because the willingness for this by the other side is also necessary.

[Chrudinak] At the present time no such willingness is manifested on their side.

[Horn] I am not aware of any topic, question, or agenda—with the exception of the economic sphere—which the Romanian side would urge for discssions. More precisely, the situation is that on the issues mentioned they either do not react to our initiatives or they give evasive answers.

[Chrudinak] And how does the world react to the Romanian nationality-repression? Do they sympathize with us, or do they close their eyes? Do they, can they, perhaps do anything in this matter?

[Horn] I have to say that, as I see it, most international organizations, the most various social movements, parties, and so forth hold similar opinions to ours and in our judgment is a sober, normal standpoint, that the assertion of nationality rights must be fully ensured, and if this is violated, action should be taken in harmony with the international agreements, expectations, norms, requirements. This is how they judge it.

[Chrudinak] Excuse me, what is this action?

[Horn] This action is that there appear very many statements, movements, protests, and so forth. Beyond this...

[Chrudinak, interrupting] [Word indistinct] political sanctions are not possible?

[Horn] I cannot think or take measures in the place of others. We do not encourage anyone to do this. However, we say everywhere, in the most various international organizations, that we demand—with complete justification because we are participants in the bi- and multilateral international agreements—the observance of these documents. We take action in this interest everywhere, at the UN, in Vienna, and at other international forums.

[Chrudinak] Hungarian foreign policy is extremely lively. However, it appears, at least to me, that the concrete practical, economic benefit of this activity has not appeared sufficient, perhaps this is so only up to now. How can this be explained? What is the reason for this?

[Horn] Look. The party general secretary said precisely, in an earlier statement a few weeks ago that the activeness of Hungarian foreign policy has opened up and provided much greater possibilities for a strengthening of external economic relations than what the economy has utilized.

[Chrudinak] So it is not foreign entrepreneurs who are at fault for capital not coming here.

[Horn] Foreign entrepreneurs have two fundamental conditions with which they appear, or want to appear, here. One fundamental condition is that the country should be politically stable. I believe that (?in spite of) the difficulties, there have been no special problems surrounding this. The other thing is that they should be ensured conditions—concrete conditions—of economic operation, to make it worthwhile for them to come here with capital, with the creation of joint ventures, and so forth. There have been very grave deficiencies in connection with the second condition. In my view, the reason for this should be sought primarily in the conduct of leaders and others, as long as these are leaders—decisively in the economy—in whose work it is entirely indifferent whether they are carrying out some kind of big transformation—modernization—or whether they enter into a close relationship, cooperation with foreign capital. As long as it does not feel the concrete material and other consequences of this backwardness, this leading stratum will not budge.

Leaders' Public Appearances Noted

For 2-9 November

AU1111180088 [Editorial Report] Budapest press during the 3-10 November period reports on the following appearances of Hungarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and Central Committee secretary, participated in a party aktiv meeting held by the MSZMP Budapest 21st district committee on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 5)

Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of state, paid a working visit to Budapest's 15th district and met with the heads of the district party committee on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 5)

MSZMP Politburo member Rezso Nyers spoke at the opening ceremony of the political book week held in Salgotarjan on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 3)

MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti paid a working visit to Budapest's 20th district on 9 November. (NEPSZABADSAG, 10 Nov, p 5)

Interior Minister Istvan Horvath gave a lecture to the Young Lawyers Club on the subject of the constitutional state on 8 November. (MAGYAR HIRLAP, 10 Nov, p 3)

For 11-18 November

AU2711173088 [Editorial Report] Budapest newspapers in Hungarian report the following public appearances of Hungarian leaders during the 11-18 November period (sourceline of each report is given in parentheses):

Meetings of the various county groups of parliamentary deputies were held on 10 November. The Nograd County meeting was attended by MSZMP Politburo

Member Csaba Hamori and the Szolnok County meeting was attended by MSZMP Politburo Member Istvan Szabo. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 11 Nov 88 p 5)

Rezso Nyers, member of the MSZMP Politburo, made a speech at Karl Marx Economic University in Budapest on 16 November; the audience included Miklos Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Politburo and MSZMP Central Committee secretary, Istvan Huszar, secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, and Csaba Csaki, rector, of the university. (Budapest NEPSZAVA 17 Nov 88 p 5)

Judit Csehak, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of health, addressed a meeting of young people working in the sphere of health care, on 13 November (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 14 Nov 88 p 3) and she met with Jonathan Mann, director of the WHO AIDS world program, on 17 November in Budapest. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 18 Nov 88 p 7)

Janos Lukacs, member of the MSZMP Politburo, chaired an MSZMP committee working meeting, on 11 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 11 Nov 88 p 5)

Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo and minister of state, addressed a festive meeting that marked the 450th founding anniversary of the Calvinist Collegium in Debrecen (Budapest NEPSZABDSAG 12 Nov 88 p 5) and he inaugurated the new theater in Veszprem on 17 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 18 Nov 88 p 5)

MSZMP Politburo Member Istvan Szabo attended a Miskolc party committee meeting on agricultural issues on 14 November (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 15 Nov 88 p 9) and he addressed a meeting of the managers of Bekes County production cooperatives, on 17 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 18 Nov 88 P 5)

MSZMP Politburo Member Ilona Tatai visited a rubber plant in the Budapest Ninth District on 14 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 15 Nov 88 p 5)

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committe, paid a visit to Budapest 3d District on 17 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 18 Nov 88 P 5)

Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy received Vietnamese counterpart Tran Duc Luong, in Budapest on 11 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 12 Nov 88 p 5) He received John Roberts, head of the American side of the Hungarian-U.S. Economic Commission, on 15 November. (Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 16 Nov 88 p 5)

OPZZ Approves Walesa Talk, Views TU Congress

AU2211115488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Teresa Grabczynska report: "The OPZZ Council Adopts Accountability—Election Documents"]

[Text] Next week, trade unionists will account for the performance of tasks over the past 2 years at the third trade union congress in Lodz. What achievements they can be proud of and what weaknesses require greater attention are contained in the accountability-programmatic report which the OPZZ Council heard at its Thursday, 17 November, session.

Following an exchange of opinions, the report was approved. The council also adopted rules for the Lodz congress.

In the second half of the session, which was chaired by A. Miodowicz, the trade unionists invited Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to take the floor. He presented the most important objectives and paths of action of the economic consolidation program.

He also explained that the OPZZ Council ought to receive the latest information on a constant basis, and that trade union opinions should be considered when planning such important undertakings as the program. Because trade unionists have presented economic initiatives and alternative solutions in the past, they can consider themselves to be the joint authors of this program, a program whose implementation will depend mainly on the energy and feeling of responsibility of the trade unionists themselves.

W. Baka described the program at length and presented a general outline of future action, especially in the sphere of prices and incomes and general socioeconomic policy, to which the trade unionists expressed their reactions. Questions were asked about the shape and status of state socioeconomic policy, and whether this policy will be sufficient to prevent yet another stage of economic reform. The trade unionists made it clear that no final opinion on the consolidation program will be issued until the government presents the details, which it should do by 10 December.

However, the greatest doubts were raised by the scope and composition of the proposed State-Social Prices and Incomes Commission. While supporting the idea of creating this body as a broad forum of discussion on these topics, the trade unionists pointed out that the commission cannot take the place of the statutory bodies whose representatives will form the commission's membership. These people are only meant to be active observers, and the trade unionists will continue to be consulted on such important documents as central annual plans and national socioeconomic plans, and on decisions that have a bearing on working people's standards of living.

A. Miodowicz spoke during that part of the meeting on the subject of current affairs. He asked the OPZZ Council to approve the television talk with L. Walesa.

We must keep hold of our trade union affairs and present them to society the way they are and the way we see them, said A. Miodowicz. An important event, the third congress, lies ahead of us. Our strength lies in unity and determination, and in a solidarist [solidarny] consolidation of the class trade unions.

Today, continued Miodowicz, television has asked me about a date for the meeting with Walesa. I suggested 30 November, and Walesa has already responded. He has told television that he agrees with this date and any other date. From this, it suggests that we should meet in the television studio eye-to-eye, with no one else present, straight after the main news on 30 November. Our air time would be 45-60 minutes.

The OPZZ Council approved the idea of this meeting, with one vote against and one abstention.

Walesa-Miodowicz Debate Confirmed

LD2911144788 Hamburg DPA in German 1429 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned Solidarity trade union, and Alfred Miodowicz, chief of the official trade unions, will hold a television discussion on Wednesday. This was confirmed today by Walesa's office in Gdansk. Thus Walesa will be given the opportunity, for the first time since the declaration of martial law on 13 December 1981, to air his views on Polish television in front of a large audience.

The television discussion is to be broadcast live without a presenter, and without censorship. The discussion will begin immediately after the main 2000 news program and will last ½ hour. The two interlocutors will each have 10 minutes in which to explain their programs, and 5 minutes for replies to the other side's respective statements.

Opposition's 'Turnabout' on Talks Assessed

AU2211155688 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Marek Jaworski: "Hopes and Obstacles"]

[Excerpts] For many Poles, the "roundtable talks" which were announced some time ago, but still have to take place, have not lost any of their topicality and remain the key issue in domestic politics. There has been widespread disappointment and regret as prospects for a beginning of the talks have faded. So, it is quite natural

that the question that is now being asked is: Who is setting up obstacles on the road to Jablonna and seeking to undermine those earlier agreements? [passage omitted]

At first glance, the sudden turnabout in the stance of the post-Solidarity opposition seems to be incomprehensible, something of mystery, particularly when it is set alongside the statements and declarations calling for formal talks with the government which were issued in the past. A number of hypotheses can be elaborated to explain the reasons behind this shift. Some commentators attribute it to the situation within the opposition camp itself and point out that those who have come to the fore are radical activists who do not have the slightest inclination to promote the positive evolution of relations with the authorities. They believe that talks of any sort with the "commies,"—let alone concessions—would be an insult and would lower their standing in those anti-communist subcultures with which they are closely connected. In addition, viewed objectively, the party-state side stands to gain more from such talks than the opposition (there is a danger that talks would produce divisions within the opposition), because if the purpose of the talks is to effect an improvement in the economic situation and the political atmosphere in the country, and an improvement is indeed produced, then it would only serve to strengthen the position of the communists and their allies. Poland's welfare is assigned no more important role in these calculations. "The worse things are, the better it is for us, the opposition." This kind of stance really makes any type of dialogue impossible and pointless.

However, there are also commentators who draw attention to another factor, an external one—namely, that the change in the opposition's stance coincided with the visit to Poland by a certain high-ranking representative of the U.S. Administration, who naturally held talks with prominent opposition personalities. At this point, one could conjecture whether a process of political detente in Poland would accord with U.S. strategic interests and whether, in light of this—leaving aside those verbal expressions of support—Washington really is an advocate of detente in Poland and is ready to give encouragement and support to those who want dialogue. I think that if one were to examine this issue dispassionately, one would come up with a negative answer.

Irrespective of what lay behind the turnabout, the result is the current situation. The likelihood of "roundtable talks" taking place has diminished through no fault of the government and the party. It has constantly expressed its readiness to start talks according to the principles that were originally agreed upon. For obvious reasons, the calls for the immediate restoration of Solidarity or an announcement of the intention to do so unconditionally is unacceptable for obvious reasons, if only because decisions about issues that are meant to be one of the three main subjects discussed during the talks cannot be made before the talks themselves have started. Thus, to put forward this demand at the present time is clearly meant to be provocative and calculated to torpedo the Jablonna talks at the very outset.

Then there is the opposition's exploitation of the political aspect of the closure of the Gdansk shipyard, which is purely a tactical move: The impasse in preparations for the "roundtable" occurred before the decision was made, and the argument about the shipyard was added after the event.

All that remains to be said about those other lesser demands and conditions is that their formulation in the face of the large stakes involved in the planned talks seems to be nothing more than extraordinary meanness or plain stupidity.

The large roundtable in the palace at Jablonna is still waiting to be used. There seems to be less of a possibility that it will be used, but, nevertheless, that is not say that there is no possibility whatsoever, for it seems that there is no shortage of people who are sincere advocates of dialogue and constructive action in the group around Lech Walesa. The important thing is that these people come to the fore and that Walesa himself can remember the conciliatory language that he managed to speak in his recent interview with the monthly KONFRONTACJE. If this does not happen, it will be more difficult to say "roundtable" than "the table whose legs have collapsed."

'Documents' of 3d OPZZ Assembly Adopted

LD2911092588 Warsaw PAP in English 0048 GMT 29 Nov 88

["Documents of 3rd OPZZ Assembly"—PAP headline; passages between slantlines underlined]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 28—The 3rd Assembly of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) held in the central city of Lodz adopted the following documents:

/1. The stand on the implementation of the resolutions of the OPZZ congress and on vital interests of working people, old age and disability pensioners/

Though resolutions of the congress concerning living standards of working people, old age and disability pensioners were not fully realized, activities undertaken by all links of the trade union movement limited the negative influence of the economic situation on living conditions.

The socio-economic policy pursued by the previous government made it impossible to achieve effects expected by working people.

Therefore, we share the OPZZ Council's view that the only way out from this situation was to forward a motion for the Messner cabinet to resign.

The assembly recognizes the necessity to develop the multi-sector economy. We are of the opinion that the introduction of various forms of private and foreign capital into the economy cannot restrict social achievements of working people. We state that socialized enterprises are the basis of our economy.

We confirm the necessity of restructuring. However, in our opinion liquidation of enterprises must be a final measure. We declare that we will resolutely defend employees of enterprises under liquidation. We demand that legal solutions be introduced in this respect urgently.

The basic task of all links of the labor movement is protection of living standards of working people, old age and disability pensioners and their families. We state that we will not approve of any concept of the price-income policy which will copy the six-year old stereotype of its implementation.

We are of the opinion that the road to balancing the market and easing the hardships of everyday life leads though increased market production, reduction of material and energy consumption, application of technical and organizational progress. The grounds for an increase in production must be its proper motivating through proper pay, appropriate management and working conditions.

In the assembly's view for the implementation of thereby determined aim it is indispensable to amend the laws on the labour code, collective labour contracts and other acts which regulate employment in the wording accepted by the labour movement.

The assembly adopts directions of activities as presented in the programmatic report as well as motions and postulates forwarded during the debates. They should become guidelines for further actions of all links of trade unions and provide grounds for signing a social agreement between the government and the OPZZ.

/2. The stand on the model and structure of trade unions/

The basis of any discussion on the future of the trade union movement in Poland is union pluralism, which has passed a practical test and is acceptable in our socio-political and economic conditions, based on the fundamental principle "one trade union in one enterprise."

We object to attempts at sharing the labour movement by people whose knowledge of the genuine labour world, its worries and problems derives only only from theoretical discussions.

In the opinion of the assembly the law on trade unions of Oct. 8, 1982, requires amendments, including the granting of the right to veto to trade unions, in the changing conditions of democratic transformations in the state and the economy.

The assembly demands that the unionist deputies' caucus should be set up at the Sejm of the new term.

The 3rd OPZZ Assembly voices the conviction that trade unions will present during their 2nd congress a worked-out model of the unionist movement in Poland which will ensure effective protection of interests of working people in tune with the principles of socialist humanism.

/The stand on Young Generation/ [no number as received]

Taking into account current and future needs of our country and society, Polish trade unions consider the creation of material, spiritual conditions for the proper development and life of the young generation of Poles one of the most urgent tasks.

We state that the hitherto activities of the government do not meet aspirations of young Polish women and men.

We will not let youth's aspirations remain only wishes.

We protest against economizing at the expense of youth.

We protest against wasting talents, initiative and creative powers of young Poles.

We appeal to the young for a joint action. We need each other.

"We will not ask about Poland." She exists. She is our real [word indistinct] which we must make better and wealthier.

/4. Resolution on International Affairs/

The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions bades its international activity on priorities determined by interests of our nation and the world of labour. The maintenance of peace, universal disarmament, counteracting the existing threats, dialogue serving mutual understanding as well cooperation and social progress are supreme issues for us.

We regard the new thinking in international relations as a historic turn from the confrontational era to the process of dialogue and agreement. We consider it necessary to accelerate the process of disarmament the world over. We support the idea of a common European home and all initiatives aimed at peaceful co-existence of states and nations. Starting with the Rapacki plan and ending with the Jaruzelski plan, Poland has been making a constructive contribution serving Europe and the world in building a secure future.

We strengthen our position in the international labour movement. We are open to cooperation, contacts and exchange of experiences with trade union movements of various orientations as well as with other international

organizations. At the same time we oppose the use of international activity for interfering in the internal affairs of the country and trade unions.

The effective protection of interests of working people depends on firm efforts made by all world, regional and branch union organizations whose activities will be invariably supported by us. This is how we understand our common contribution to observances of the 100th anniversary of May Day in 1990.

We confirm our internationalist solidarity with just struggle whenever violated or ignored are nations' rights to self-determination and an independent existence, whenever trampled is human dignity and violated are rights of working people.

As Poles, we are of the opinion that the coming 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the 2nd World War makes one deeply reflect upon the tragic historical experiences and the necessity of ensuring security to all states and nations. We turn to all working people, and particularly to unionists from those states where aggression and violence towards other nations were born in the past, to firmly manifest in 1989 the will to together build a lasting peaceful future of the world.

We express the conviction that socio-economic problems of working people as well as of states and nations can be efficiently solved as a result of universal disarmament, systematic shift from military production to the civil one and principal changes made in economic relations and in the credit-currency policy through the establishment of a new just economic order.

We turn to Poles scattered all over the world, living and working outside the country, to the entire emigration and Polonia: Remember that we need each other in the struggle for a modern Poland, for the good name of our nation.

PZPR Politburo Discusses Self-Management

LD2311190788 Warsaw PAP in English 1702 GMT 23 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 23—The PUWP CC Political Bureau at its meeting here on November 22 examined the functioning of crews' self-management and stressed good experience and considerable achievements of the majority of employee councils which are authentic co-hosts of plants.

The Political Bureau expressed the conviction that self-management would support everything which leads to the improvement of management efficiency. The stability of economic and financial conditions should make it easier for workers' councils to participate in plant management.

The meeting bound party members to actively take part in work of the self-managements of crews and to support their endeavours to replace ineffective actions with production and organizational initiatives.

The initiative of the committee on self-managements of the Sejm to hold meetings of employee councils proved right. The meetings assessed management of plants during the first half of 1988. Such meetings should be held more often and make more thorough and more rigorous assessments to show what should be improved in a plant and how to achieve better results.

The Political Bureau supported the government's plans concerning cooperation with self-management consultative team at the government economic and socio-political committees and setting up a section for cooperation with self-management at the Council of Ministers' office. The Political Bureau welcomed the information that the government would submit amendments to its own draft laws on the Polish state railways and research-development units.

The Political Bureau came out in favour of a right of all crews to self-management also in economic units which are being established or already operating in forms of property different from the state one.

Works will be carried on new forms of social ownership of production means. In cases of lease, or renting state property under commission agreements, or establishing partnerships and other forms of ownership which are of interest to the state treasury, it is necessary to strive to ensure crews the right to self-management.

The Political Bureau discussed the state of preparations for the 3rd All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference.

Profound economic and political changes are accompanied by a reassessment of some of to-date ideas on the shape of socialism, of directions, stages and forms of its development.

The conference should be a significant step forward in creating theoretical foundations of the new phase of creating socialism in the Polish conditions and should contribute to consolidating and enriching ideological identity of the PUWP.

The Political Bureau recommended to continue preparations for the conference in tune with the adopted timetable.

The Political Bureau also approved of the date, the program and the agenda of the 3rd All-Polish Theoretical and Ideological Conference, to take place in Warsaw between January 19 and 21, 1989.

The conference will focus on historical experience of the PUWP, theoretical premises of the renewal policy, transformations of social structures caused by reforms, changes in socialist production relations, the development of the Polish model of socialist democracy, questions of social consciousness, Poland's role in modern Europe and in the world, the PUWP role and tasks in the process of reforms in the state and in the economy. The agenda provides also for speeches by foreign guests of the conference.

Alcoholic Drink Prices To Increase 10 Percent

AU2111120588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Increased Prices of Alcoholic Beverages"]

[Text] The Ministry of Finance reports that on 14 November, it will raise the official price of Polish alcoholic beverages by about 10 percent.

The repeated increase in the price of alcoholic beverages this year stems from a faster-than-expected growth in people's incomes. It also stems from the Sober Upbringing and Combating of Alcoholism Act, which says that the prices of alcoholic beverages should increase faster than people's incomes.

Rakowski Continues Visit to Austria

Rakowski, Vranitzky Preview Talks

LD2511015388 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Premier Rakowski and [Austrian] Chancellor Vranitzky have made statements for Polish television:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In an interview for the Vienna press, you said that you hoped this visit would not be an ordinary one, merely a courtesy. What is the reason for these expectations, and are they being confirmed?

[Rakowski] They are, and the reason for them is that our relations with Austria are, I would say, special. They are special because even during the hardest years in the eighties Austria treated us in a friendly manner. The country's leaders, the heads of successive governments, tried to understand the motives which guided us in pursuing the policy we did after 13 December 1981. Furthermore, I should add that the Austrians were getting involved in economic, cultural, and other cooperation in, I would say, a much more dymanic way than some of our other Western partners. Apart from that, there are great reserves of mutual affection involved.

[Vranitzky speaking in German, fading into superimposed Polish translation] We intended to devote our talks and meetings to a discussion of general matters, as well as to a significant extension of our economic relations, wherever that is possible. It is worth making use of everything which promotes this. That means, among other things, that we would like large Austrian firms to become closer to their Polish partners—enterprises and traders. Also, our ministers' talks will focus precisely on how to increase economic cooperation. [end recording]

Rakowski Opens Talks With Vranitzky

LD2511014288 Warsaw PAP in English 0015 GMT 25 Nov 88

[By PAP reporters Andrzej Rayzacher and Juliusz Solecki]

[Text] Vienna, Nov. 24—Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski started Thursday [24 November] his official visit to Austria.

Shortly after the ceremony of welcome at the Schwechat Vienna Airport, Premier Rakowski and Chancellor Vranitzky held the first private talk in chancellors office.

Apart from general political questions, I discussed with Premier Rakowski the possibilities for enlivening and deepening the economic relations of the two countries, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said after the private talk which lasted one hour and a half, that is longer than planned. The point is, he added, to establish cooperation between big Austrian and Polish firms in the field of industry, tourism and construction.

It is true that Austria has considerable financial claims as far as Poland is concerned, the chancellor said referring to Poland's debt to his country. But Poland is in a phase of very broad reforms that require constructing an economic foundation. Austria will maintain its partner-like attitude wherever the cooperation of the two sides may be useful for the strengthening of the Polish reforms. Sometimes, one wil have to follow the road of specific forms of financing.

Premier Rakowski stressed that the confirmation alone of Austria's readiness for further cooperation with Poland would mean the success of his visit. I have not told Chancellor Vranitzky about it yet but according to the latest poll by the public opinion sounding centre in Poland, 68 percent of Poles manifest great sympathy for Austria, he said.

In the wake of the first round of talks, Premier Rakowski went to the Austrian parliament. In the absence of President Leopold Gratz—who is attending the Warsaw meeting of heads of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada—the Polish premier and the accompanying persons were greeted by Vice-President of the parliament Gerulf Stiz.

In the afternoon, two important agreements between Poland and Austria were signed in the presence of Premier Rakowski and Chancellor Vranitzky: on cooperation in environmental protection and on mutual protection of investments.

The first document was signed by Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wlilczek and Minister for Family Affairs and Environment Marlies Fleming while the latter one—by Minister Wilczek and Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

After the signing of the documents, Vice-Chancellor Mock told newsmen that the accord with Poland on the mutual protection of investments was the second such agreement signed by Austria and a CMEA country. Along with economic reforms and the new law on enterprises in Poland that would facilitate foreign investments, it will strengthen the economic cooperation between Poland and Austria, he said and added that he was glad that the never closed door to such a cooperation with Poland had been opened even wider.

Minister of Economy Robert Graf who was present at the ceremony of signing the documents said that the agreement on mutual protection of investments would undoubtedly open up new roads for Polish-Austrian cooperation in the field of joint ventures, activity in third countries and other areas.

Next Premier Rakowski and Chancellor Vranitzky presided over plenary talks.

In the evening, Chancellor Vranitzky and his wife gave a dinner in honour of Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and his wife. The two heads of governments delivered toasts.

Rakowski Offers Dinner Toast

LD2511015988 Warsaw PAP in English 2311 GMT 24 Nov 88

["Rakowski's Toast (Abridged)"]

[Text] Vienna, Nov. 24—My first visit to Western Europe, after taking over the leadership of the Polish Government, I am paying to neutral Austria, which stresses the importance that the Government of the Polish People's Republic, as well as I personally, attach to the comprehensive development of relations with the Republic of Austria.

Poland and Poles are linked with your country by various historical and cultural ties, heritage of the past and by contemporary achievements. Though we do not have a common border, we do speak about close neighbourly relations not without a reason.

A fact from the latest history of Europe was added to the symbol of our nations' common history: In 1938, after twenty years after the day of the rebirth of the Polish state, after its return on the map of Europe, there was no place on that map for Austria. A year later, this fate was shared by my country. Only after the victory of the anti-fascist coalition and the defeat of Nazi Germany, to which the Polish nation contributed a vital tribute in blood, as well as the post-war political and territorial order on our continent, created grounds for a peaceful and stable development of Poland and Austria in the European family of sovereign states.

As early as December 1945, the Polish Government recognized, long before many governments of other states did so, the new democratic government of Austria, thus giving the start to post-war development of all-around mutual relations.

We highly evaluate and keep in memory the rational stance of Austria towards Poland in a period difficult for us, that is the first years of the current decade.

The active policy of the neutral Austria enjoys great appreciation in international relations.

The creation of the atmosphere of detente and cooperation, building of numerous ties between East and West have become an integral part of Austria's foreign policy.

Poland and Polish society treat with respect the recognized position taken by Austria among neutral and non-aligned states of Europe and the world. The high level of cooperation between our countries and the unity of goals, constituted by a "common European house," fully justify our interest in seeing that the neutral Austria should remain an important factor of positive shaping the international situation also in the future.

For over 40 years now the foreign policy pursued by my country has been aimed at protecting present and future generations against war atrocities, at ensuring a secure, peaceful future for them. It is from these motives that Polish peace initiatives are derived—from the Rapacki plan to the Jaruzelski Plan. These requirements were taken by our country into account while inspring the CSCE work and disarmament dialogue and, next, actively participating in them.

Like in the past, we will continue to use all possibilities to start and support initiatives serving the creation of infrastructure for possibly broadest European cooperation in this domain. The great potential in building all-European unity lies in the development of the CSCE process, in the full realization of all the baskets of the Final Act, both the first, the second and the third. On our side we will spare no effort to conclude the Vienna CSCE meeting and start disarmament negotiations still this year.

We welcome with satisfaction improvement of climate in Soviet-American relations, in East-West relations. We hope that first significant steps in the field of nuclear armaments reduction will create good foundations for further talks and negotiations on military detente and disarmament, will bring closer the vision of our continent and the world in which confrontation will be replaced by all-round peaceful cooperation. Poland and Austria, all small and medium-size countries, have a

greater-than-ever role to play in these processes. The importance of problems which require solutions obliges us to speak in an ever louder voice.

We do not forget that Poland's position on the international arena will be the stronger the more stable and prosperous the development of our country will be. Today there is nothing more important and urgent for Poland than to speed up economic reforms and to restructure and expand the democratic institutions of social life. A safeguard for the socialist renewal in my country is the growing sense of responsibility of all the patriotic forces for the country's development and fortunes. The observers of our political scene cannot fail to notice the changes which have already been made and which are still taking place. Let me mention only the setting up of the constitutional tribunal, the state tribunal, the appointment of the ombudsman—institutions not always known of even in those countries which supply us with various kinds of advice.

Polish society enjoys numerous possibilities to form associations, voice views and defend interests. We are following this direction still farther, seeking new forms of dialogue and national agreement. I trust that this will become a lasting achievement of our pluralistic society. We still have many difficulties to overcome. This calls for bold and consistent reformatory actions. The government which I lead is determined to do that.

Our most urgent task is to achieve Poland's economic stability, both internal and in the area of our external economic and financial relations. We are interested in creating a favourable climate for these actions also among our partners in Europe and the world over. I think that arriving at such stability of Poland is an urgent issue also for our partners, for Europe.

I express a hope and at the same time a conviction that Austria will want also this time to refer in an open and pioneer-like manner to our needs in the field of resolving the problem of debt and restoring normal conditions of economic and financial-credit cooperation with Poland. We desire plain normalization, equal treatment in all fields of international cooperation.

In the policy of the government headed by me, the development of relations with Austria will continue to hold high rank.

The high level of political, parliamentarian and social contacts allows one to state that they are taking on a model-like character, that they constitute a good example of how two medium European states, belonging to different political orientations, can mould their mutual relations for their own good as well as in the name of supreme reasons and all-European interests.

We positively assess the state of Polish-Austrian economic relations, at the same time seeing possibilities of further intensifying them. I am using this occasion to encourage representatives of the economic circles of Austria to still greater activity in Poland.

Cultural and scientific contacts are an important factor for both countries and nations of getting better acquainted and coming closer together. We are ready to further continuously enrich their form and contents.

We wish for societies of Poland and Austria to directly partake to the greatest extent possible in the process of mutual rapprochement. The restoration of non-visa traffic is conducive to this. The realization of the proposal to set up a Poland-Austria forum would also be helpful. We are ready to quickly put it into effect.

We have carried out a useful and necessary exchange of views on our problems, bilateral and international alike. I am deeply convinced that my talks with you (referring to the chancellor - ed.) and other leading politicians of Austria, conducted in the spirit of mutual cordiality and understanding, will contribute to implementing the joint intentions.

In strengthening ties between our states and nations we will serve both the interests of Poland and Austria as well as the interests of our old continent.

Vranitzky Gives Reply Toast

LD2511020688 Warsaw PAP in English 2354 GMT 24 Nov 88

["Vranitzky's Toast (Abridged)"]

[Text] Vienna, Nov. 24—Your visit marks another climax in a long chain of Polish-Austrian meetings on various levels. This intensive exchange of visits is a meaningful evidence of our relations which I would like to describe as excellent and model ones for relations of two states with different social systems.

Austria has always had a significant share in the fate of the befriended Polish nation and observes with great attention the developments in your country. We express a sincere desire that the hardships occurring in your country, mainly in the economic sphere, be overcome on the road of joint effort of all forces of the Polish nation.

We hope that the dialogue undertaken in August this year will be constructively continued, that this dialogue, in which Polish patriots are taking part on both sides, will live up to the expectations of the overwhelming majority of the Polish people. A stable, vital and healthy Poland is of great significance not only for Europe but also for all states.

We observe with interest your efforts conducive to structural changes in the country's economy and improvement of conditions for economic activity. We

wish you and your country success in achieving assumed goals so that Poland may again be able to play its important role in the European economy.

Austria, like Poland, attaches equal significance to the problems of disarmament and arms control which have great importance for peace and security. We think that step by step it will prove possible to reach a situation when military parity will be fixed at the possibly lowest level. This is based on a conviction that abundant accumulation of weapons threatens stability and also on a belief that unnecessary spendings on arms lead to the waste of resources which are at the disposal of mankind.

The international disarmament policy has been significantly enriched by Polish disarmament proposals, marked by a deep involvement in the European policy. Austria as a neutral country is in a justifiable way interested in all means which lead to balanced reductions of the military potential in its surroundings. In this sense the intentions and the principles of the Jaruzelski plan match also our point of view.

While perceiving the positive development of East-West relations we hope that the Vienna CSCE talks will shortly come to a successful end.

Austria also awaits a prompt undertaking of talks concerning the parity of conventional armaments and rejoices over prospects to begin two review conferences on military security which it would like to continue to host.

These days a meeting of presidents of parliaments of Europe, the U.S. and Canada called at the initiative of your country is being held in Warsaw. This meeting is a sign of Poland's active role in the CSCE process. Austria appreciates good cooperation between our two countries in this process, and I mean here particularly our joint proposal of holding in Krakow a symposium on culural heritage.

We note with satisfction that this year has also seen increased dynamics of our trade relations and that export-oriented enterprises in both countries have seriously treated the chance they faced. The Austrian economy is mainly interested in all modernization aspirations of your industry, development of agriculture and environmental protection in Poland.

Rakowski-Vranitzky News Conference

AU2811141788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Nov 88 p 4

[PAP report: "News Conference by the Heads of Government"]

[Text] Vienna—Here is a transcript of the news conference given by Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky on 25 November:

Vranitzky: A few introductory remarks. This is not only Premier Rakowski's first visit to Austria, but also his first visit to a nonsocialist country. Yesterday, during the 1st day of our talks with Premier Rakowski, we discussed bilateral and international relations and our contribution to strengthening security and confidence in Europe. We discussed economic matters most of all, because we are important trading partners for each other. We talked about ways of boosting economic cooperation and concrete plans in this sphere, as well as regular contacts between members of both governments and their heads. We concluded that it is not enough for the premier and chancellor to meet more or less once a year. It is necessary to maintain intensive contacts at all government levels.

Thanking the chancellor for the words addressed to him, Premier Rakowski said he agreed with what his host had said about the talks. "I must say that, after the 1st day of my visit to Austria, my colleagues and I consider it definitely advantageous," he said. "Yesterday," he continued, "the chancellor and I spoke with each other for many hours, and I must say that he is an excellent partner. Basically, our views on international issues, the world situation, European peace, and the creation of conditions in order to increase international confidence do not differ at all. I am immensely satisfied with the fact that Austria is the first country on the route of my trips to the West. I do not intend to deliver a historical lecture about why the Austrians and Poles value and respect each other. I want to say that our relations are developing favorably, that we feel we have many friends here, and that Austrians can count on an equally friendly reception in Warsaw. This is all I have to say for the time being. I trust my former professional colleagues will now ask a few questions."

And here are the questions recorded by PAP reporters:

[Question] Mr Premier, the government has announced that the bill on associations is to be discussed by the Sejm at the beginning of the new year. We are now in November. When can one expect this bill to see the light of day? And second, CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev visited Poland and met with a group of Polish intellectuals at Warsaw Castle. He said that in the future, relations between the socialist countries would be based on voluntary cooperation.

Rakowski: As far as the first question is concerned, we shall soon place this bill before the Sejm. But it is difficult to say when exactly it will be passed, because first of all the Sejm has to discuss two economic bills of exceptional importance: a "bill on undertaking economic activity" and a bill "on economic activity involving foreign citizens." But regardless of when the Sejm passes the bill, political clubs and associations are already being created on the basis of the old law.

As far as the second question is concerned, one can put it this way: We have been enjoying full sovereignty in our relations with the Soviet Union in recent years.

To answer your question about the existence of any voluntary restrictions on sovereignty, do you know of any country that does not voluntarily restrict its sovereignty for the sake of its neighbor, large or small? In today's world, every single country has to consider the interests of its neighbors and the international situation in some way. The Soviet Union has to consider the interests of the other power, the United States, and the United States must consider the interests of the Soviet Union. As for our foreign policy, I wish our sovereignty were "limited" in this way for a further 50 and 100 years, because this policy has brought Poland long-lasting and full security. Let me remind you that for the first time in several 100 years, there are no trouble spots on Poland's eastern border. This fact is of historic significance.

Question: Cooperation between small- and medium-sized countries that transcends political divisions is an important factor in modern Europe. I would like to ask you, Mr Premier and Mr Federal Chancellor, if such cooperation was a subject of your talks, and if you have any idea of how this cooperation could shape the Europe of the future. And one more question to Chancellor Vranitzky: In one of your interviews, you mentioned the need to find special forms of finance in order to solve Poland's debt problems and develop economic cooperation. How do you envision these?

Rakowski: As for the first question, I must stress that cooperation between Poland and Austria is developing regardless of political dividing lines, just like Poland's cooperation with other countries. One cannot deny this. Of course, one can ask about the extent of this cooperation. I think a lot remains to be done in this respect, both in terms of the extent and in terms of the depth of this cooperation. I think one more remark can be made at this point. Now that Mikhail Gorbachev and his political friends have said that peaceful coexistence between countries should not be treated as a kind of class struggle, it should be viewed instead as a further step toward eliminating Europe's "bloc" image. This process of elimination may take many years, but it is an important thing to say. The process of building a common European home cannot consist of everyone building his own apartment and having his own kitchen without due consideration for his neighbor.

Vranitzky: When we talk about a central European dimension, we do not mean one ought make a deal in the economic and cultural sectors from time to time. It means much closer contacts and joint projects. In the financial sphere, it means that both Polish and Austrian partners should contribute toward this financing. As far as cultural cooperation is concerned, I wish to point out that Austria intends to build a new Austrian Institute in Warsaw in order to expand the presence of Austrian culture in Poland, particularly modern culture and art.

Returning to the second question, that is to financial matters, it depends on the final agreements reached by the Paris Club, to which all the countries that granted credits to Poland, including Austria, belong. This agreement with creditors concerning the rescheduling of debts has not yet been signed by Poland because it is obvious that the new government must have time to examine the agreement closely.

Question to Chancellor Vranitzky: Did you discuss and agree on future Austrian credits for Poland in the form of aid, and if so, how much? And a question to Premier Rakowski: When will the so-called "roundtable" talks start, and if the government has already agreed to talk to "Solidarity," why does it refuse to register independent trade unions?

Rakowski: As for the first question, Poland has already been granted a major credit, a credit of confidence, which is very important for the further development of economic relations between Poland and Austria.

Vranitzky: We did not discuss any figures whatsoever, and we have not concluded any agreement about any sum of money. That was not the purpose of our talks. I repeat what I have already said: We only discussed the fact that Poland, which has not yet concluded an agreement with the Paris Club, should reconsider doing so and lead as quickly as possible to the conclusion of an agreement concerning a restructuring of Poland's debts.

Rakowski: I want to add that I had no credits in mind when I set out for Vienna. Our aim was simply to expand mutually advantageous economic cooperation. It is not my nature to fly around Europe with hand outstretched to receive credits, like a beggar. I represent a country that has a great economy and great resources. We shall get by. We shall also repay our debts. We shall loosen the economy, increase exports, improve our situation...

Now I will answer the second question. Preparatory talks for the "roundtable" are under way. There are certain difficulties with them. This is understandable; after all, various forces are to meet at this table. If this "roundtable" materializes, it will not be on the basis of a division into "us" on the one hand and "Solidarity people" on the other, but on the basis of a cross-section of various political orientations. Why have no independent trade unions have been registered? In fact, we have recognized such unions, and they have been operating in Poland since 1982. I mean the OPZZ. These are totally independent unions, maybe too independent from the premier's point of view. They table various proposals, not all of which can be realized. And what is worth noting is that they overthrew my predecessor. I think this is the only case in Europe in recent years. As far as "Solidarity" is concerned, I do not think it is a trade union. Those who belong to what one may call the historic "Solidarity" leadership describe themselves as a

political movement, not a trade union movement. Thus, one should not talk about a trade union, but rather about a political movement. And that is a completely different story.

Question: Is the Polish Government talking to "Solidarity" about the Lenin shipyard and its production? Why do you still have vacancies in your cabinet, Mr Premier? Do the people whom you offered posts not want to talk to the government, or does the government not want to talk to them?

Rakowski: To answer the first question, I must say I am touched by Western journalists' concern for the Lenin shipyard and Polish shipbuilding. However, I as premier am not interested and cannot be interested in the details concerning shipbuilding. That is what the minister of industry is for, as well as certain trade organizations involved in selling ships. Why should the head of a government worry about how a ship is built in some shipyard? That is what specialists are for. To answer the second question, I had no trouble finding candidates for my government. However, Madam, you ask about four places in the government which I offered to people from the so-called independent opposition. I say "so-called," because no one is completely independent. The only problem is what he is independent of. To pursue politics today, one has to have money. But I digress. What I want to say is that the government is complete. The gentlemen to whom I made an offer have refused. But that is no misfortune. Their mistake is that they they cannot influence any decisions now. In Poland there is a saying: "Absentees are not right." Please treat this case as part of the development of Poland's political situation. In a few years' time, when the situation changes, those who have refused today will come back sooner or later. That is the logic of history.

Question: I am a journalist from London. My Warsaw colleagues have told me that you admire Mrs Margaret Thatcher very much. And yet we all know how she handles trade unions, and how she approaches the question of bankruptcy of enterprises. Can you tell us how things really are?

Rakowski: Thank you for asking me this question, because many journalists, former colleagues of mine, accuse me of saying many things I never really said. If I spoke about Mrs Thatcher, it was not about her relations with the trade unions. What I said was that she impresses me as a politician and prime minister. I did not say this just because she is a woman, but because she is the longest ruling prime minister. I did not discuss her domestic policy, because she is pursuing the domestic policy of her own country. One cannot transpose Mrs Thatcher's actions to Poland. And as far as the closure of unprofitable enterprises is concerned, it seems the same thing is happening all over the world. Therefore, I would ask you not to attribute to me in your dispatches any views or statements that I did not make. And generally, I would ask any former colleagues who wish to know what I said to ask me directly, because I appreciate the meaning of the media and am always ready to give a full reply. I am often eager to read what a journalist has written, and unfortunately, what he has written very often diverges from what I really said. I read an article in one Viennese daily about the situation in Poland. The article contained a sentence whereby "the whole of society" knows that the closure of the Lenin shipyard was a political decision. I would ask the journalist who wrote it where he gets his information from, from conversations in coffeehouses, or from opinion polls? I doubt whether he gets it from opinion polls, because I have the results. According to these results, most people said that they approve of the decision.

Question: Mr Chancellor, the Austrian Socialist Party, of which you are chairman, is celebrating its 200th anniversary (voices say: 100th anniversary), 100th anniversary. What is the Austrian Socialist Party today? What are its social and political ideals? And second, a short question: In your toast to Premier Rakowski, you used the term "central Europe." What do you mean by that, in the political sense?

Vranitzky: The ideological and political principles of the Austrian Socialist Party were formulated in Hainfeld 100 years ago. They are: equality, freedom, tolerance, and justice. Nothing about these principles has changed in the Socialist Party's 100-year history. Only the application of these ideals is a little different. Today we no longer have to struggle for free access to universities, for which we did struggle 100 years ago. Today one has to struggle for other values, in other words the rights of the unemployed, the rights of the self-employed, the rights of farmers, and the right to be free of nuclear extermination, not to mention the struggle against environmental damage. Finally, there are less important democratic values that we have to struggle for; we have to struggle for international cooperation. To answer your second question, I apply this term from the angle of our joint historic traditions of cooperation. I have in mind cooperation within the confines of the same cultural sphere that has existed for entire centuries. Central Europe is certainly not a political concept in the sense that there is fighting going on within it for a change to national borders.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Current Issues

LD2411232488 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 24—The key topics of press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Stefan Staniszewski's monthly conference held in Warsaw today included:

Premier Rakowski's visit to Austria, Gorbachev's announced visit to the U.S., Cuba and Britain, Poland's relations with France and the U.S., the matter of the delineation of the Pomeranian Bay, Poland's stance towards the "group from Rio de Janeiro" and agreement

on South-West Africa, border contacts between Poland and the Soviet Union, Mauno Koivisto's visit and railway traffic on the border with Czechoslovakia.

Rakowski's Visit to Austria

Poland and Austria are bound with close historical and cultural ties, the spokesman stated. As concerns modern times we well remember and value the balanced, matter-of-fact and calm stance of Austria towards the events from the beginning of the 80-ties which were difficult for us.

We refer to the policy of active neutrality which Austria has been pursuing for years, engaging itself in activities for detente, strengthening peace and security in Europe. Thanks to this, it has won a high position among neutral states, as well as the international community. Poland wants Austria also in the future to bear a positive impact on the shaping of international relations. The high level of our cooperation, the community of goals in the all-European scope will contribute to this as well as the currently more advantageous conditions for activities of medium and small states on the international arena.

Staniszewski stressed that Poland wishes to endow the comprehensive development of relations with Austria with high rank. These have gained momentum and deepened since last year's visit of Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to Poland. The level of our political, inter-parliamentarian and social contacts is at present very high. We wish to increase their intensity and effectiveness, above all in the economic sphere. We expect the new regulations and facilitations which we are introducing to the operations of foreign capital in Poland to bring tangible benefits from both sides.

We expect Premier Rakowski's visit to Austria to strengthen the ties between our countries, to bring tangible bilateral advantages and serve all-European interests as well, Staniszewski said.

Gorbachev's Visits to U.S., Cuba and Britain

In reply to a question about the planned visits of the Soviet leader, Staniszewski stated: We admnire the consistency with which the Soviet Union puts into effect the new thinking about the most important international matters in its foreign policy. The talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan and George Bush will be a continuation of Soviet-American dialogue which has been developing positively in recent years.

In his address at the U.N. General Assembly forum, Gorbachev will undoubtedly touch upon several important matters. The presence of the Soviet leader at the headquarters of this world organization will also underscore the currently growing importance of the United Nations which is increasingly becoming a plane of joint search for ways of overcoming global problems currently facing mankind.

On the other hand, we view Gorbachev's visit to Cuba in the context of the important role which this country plays in Latin America and especially in the Non-aligned Movement. It is worth noting that this visit coincides with the signing of the agreement on stopping the conflict in Angola and Namibia, in which Cuba played a fundamental role, Staniszewski said.

Speaking about the planned visit of Gorbachev to Britain, the spokesman stressed that Soviet-British cooperation, despite the existing differences, is important for the situation in the world, particulary for Europe, and contributes to the preservation of balance on the European continent.

Poland's Relations With France, the U.S.

Replying to a question about the visit of minister Tadeusz Olechowski to France, the spokesman recalled that Polish-French relations were once very good. At present there are conducive conditions for a return to these traditionally good relations, he stated.

Staniszewski also expressed a hope that the visit would give an important impetus to the development of cooperation in the political, cultural, and economic field.

Commenting on the meeting between Poland's ambasador to the U.S. Jan Kinast and Secretary of State George Shultz, Staniszewski stated that it was held at the initiative of the Polish side. The interesting discussion confirmed the continously improving Polish-American relations, said he.

Delineation of Pomeranian Bay

Several questions concerned talks between Poland and the GDR on the issue of the Pomeranian Bay. The spokesman cited the joint communique published in the press following talks between experts from Poland and the GDR on November 2-3 in Warsaw. The principle of free access of the ports of Szczecin and Swinoujscie to the open sea has been agreed. Details remain to be worked out, Staniszewski stated.

The talks will be continued. The next meeting of experts will be held in the nearest future in Berlin. We are optimistic as to its outcome. In our relations with the GDR regarding this matter there are difficulties, perhaps even clashes of interest. I want to stress, however, that our mutual relations are still very good and that the existing differences do not pertain to fundamental interests, the spokesman pointed out.

Koivisto's Visit. Railway Traffic With Czechoslovakia

Staniszewski announced that Finland's President Mauno Koivisto would pay a visit to Poland early spring next year.

Asked about the situation on the Czechoslovak-Polish border, the spokesman stated that it has improved significantly and is basically normal.

Poland and the Agreement on Namibia

We followed with interest the four-partite talks on the situation in South-West Africa which led to a basic agreement in Geneva on November 15, Staniszewski stated in reply to another question.

Its signing will open the way to the implementation of the U.N. plan for Namibia's independence. Poland unchangingly demanded the enactment of U.N. Security Council Resolution Number 435, also at the forum of the U.N. Council for Namibia of which Poland is a member. We are ready to continue contributing to the cause of establishing peace in Namibia, the spokesman said.

Poland and the "Group From Rio"

Asked about the meeting which Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski held with the ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela in Warsaw Nov. 15, Staniszewski stated that Poland follows with interest and sympathy the integration processes taking place for some time now in Latin America as well as the adoption of a joint stance by the said states of "the Group from Rio."

We also follow with big interest the efforts to establish equal-rights, more just international economic relations, including a new approach to dialogue between debtor and creditor states.

"The goals and priorities of the "Group from Rio" states are to large degree convergent with the stance of Poland towards such issues as peace, security, detente, foreign debt. That is why we will endorse the initiatives and activities of the group, the spokesman said. [quotation marks as received]

Polish-Soviet Border Contacts

Many questions concerned the growing tourist traffic on the Polish-Soviet border as well as the issue of the development of contacts between residents of bordering Polish voivodships and Soviet districts. Replying to them, Witold Rybczynski of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed to the opening of new border crossings and aditional railway connections. He confirmed that a Polish consulate would be opened in Vilnius this December. He added that the so-called small border traffic, in other words visits to relatives, the graves of close ones and the like, was expanding gradually and in the long term, following a regulation of specific formalities, one should expect a considerable increase in these contacts.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-15 Nov

AU1811110188 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU monitored from 10 to 16 November reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

Celebrations in Warsaw on 11 November, marking the 70th anniversary of Polish independence, were attended by the following leaders: Kazimierz Cypryniak, Jan Glowczyk, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Marian Orzechowski, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Gabriela Rembisz, and Zofia Stepien (12-13 Nov, p 1)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, State Council chairman, received the leadership of the Central Union of Handicrafts on 9 November. (10 Nov, p 2) He received Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Polish ambassador to the CSSR, on 14 November. (15 Nov, p 2)

Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski visited an exhibition of PAP books at the Sejm building in Warsaw on 10 November. (11 Nov, p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting at the Office of the Council of Ministers on 14 November, on the subject of the proposed Government Prices and Incomes Commission. (15 Nov, p 4) He toured industrial plants in Radom and spoke with their workers on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited Krakow on 10 November in order to attend celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of Polish independence. (11 Nov, p 1) While in Krakow, he awarded the Grand Cross of the Order of Poland's Rebirth to Professor Jerzy Grzymka, an 80-year-old scholar. (11 Nov, p 2) On 9 November he received the following new ambassadors, who presented their credentials to him: Mohamed Fourati of Tunisia and Johanes Semeijns de Vries van Doesburgh of the Netherlands. (10 Nov, p 6) He attended a meeting of the Warsaw City People's Council on 9 November. (10 Nov, p 9) He received Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Polish ambassador to the CSSR, on 11 November. (12-13 Nov, p 5) He visited the village of Lesznowo, near Warsaw, on 14 November, and spoke with farmers there. (15 Nov, p 2) He visited an agricultural cooperative in Teresin on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Jozef Baryla, Politburo member, visited a fruit and vegetable processing plant in Tarczyna on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, visited industrial plants in Krakow and talked to their employees on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, attended the opening of a new kindergarten and residential quarters for employees of the Igloopol agricultural enterprise in Debica on 12 November. (13 Nov, p 2) He visited Lodz and talked to its citizens on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Zygmunt Muranski, Politburo member, visited factories in Chorzow on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with Gennadiy Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for National Education, on 14 November. (15 Nov, p 2)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of national defense, met with soldiers on exercise in Silesia on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Zofia Stepien, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Committee Women's Commission, attended a ceremony marking the beginning of the academic year for rural women's education centers in Czestochowa on 10 November. (11 Nov, p 2) She visited a paper plant in Warsaw on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, attended a meeting of the Warsaw City People's Council on 9 November. (10 Nov, p 9) He met with the civic authorities of Warsaw on 11 November. (12-13 Nov, p 2) He visited factories in Oborniki on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Gabriela Rembisz, candidate member of the Politburo, visited factories in Oborniki on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Andrzej Wasilewski, Central Committee secretary, took part in a seminar on the subject of the Polish intelligentsia at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow on 14 November. (15 Nov, p 4) He met with artists and cultural activists in Gorzow on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 3)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski chaired a meeting of the interministerial committee for contacts with Poles abroad on 9 November. (10 Nov, p 5) On the same day, he met with members of the international literature club attached to the PPR Journalists Association. (10 Nov, p 5) He received Egoulia Kpanzou, the new ambassador of Togo, plus the unnamed ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela on 15 November. (16 Nov, p 2)

Joint RCP, Democratic Bodies Plenum Held

AU2811193588 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 28 Nov 88

["Joint Meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Executive Councils and Bureaux of the Revolutionary Worker Democracy Bodies and of Mass and Public Organizations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/11/1988—Under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party plenum and of the Executive Councils and Bureaux of the Revolutionary Worker Democracy Bodies and of Mass and Public Organizations started at the Palace of the Republic Hall Monday, 28 November.

An historic event in the life of the party and the country followed with the highest interest and full adhesion by the entire nation, the joint plenary meeting—a broad representative forum of the revolutionary worker democracy system—discusses documents of outstanding significance for the strengthening of the leading role of the Romanian Communist Party, the improvement of economic and social management, of ideological, political educative activity and of work in other areas, for the multilateral development of the country, and the building of socialism and communism in Romania.

Taking part in the meeting are full and alternate members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and of the Central Audit Commission, members of the National Council of Working People, of the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, of the National Council of Science and Education, of the Executive Bureaux of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management, of the Committee for the People's Councils Affairs, of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, of the National Women's Council, members of the Bureaux of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, of the Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania, of the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organizations, members of the creative unions' leaderships, leading cadres of the central press.

Together with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu, full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the Executive Councils and Bureaux of the Mass and Public Organizations, party members since the underground period took their seat in the presidium.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu opened the joint plenum.

The following agenda was unanimously adopted:

1. The current stage of the Romanian socialist society and its future development prospects, the improvement of economic and social management, the development of revolutionary worker democracy, the role of the state and of the democratic bodies. The growing role of the Romanian Communist Party and the ideological, political-educative activity, the higher level of scientific knowledge, of culture, of revolutionary consciousness. The ratio of forces and the fundamental characteristics of the international situation.

2. The Draft Single National Economic and Social Development Plan of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1989.

3. The Draft Plan of Growth of Agriculture, the Food Industry, Forestry and Water Management for 1989.

4. The Draft Centralized Financial Plan of Economic and Social Activities and the Draft State Budget for 1989.

5. The Self-Management and Self-Sufficiency Programme for the Population's Good supply of Food and Farm Produce and of Consumer Industrial Goods in 1989.

To the cheers and ovations of the audience, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania delivered an exposition on "The Current Stage of Romanian Socialist Society and the Prospects of Its Future Development, the Improvement of Socioeconomic Management, the Development of Revolutionary Worker Democracy, the Role of the State and of Democratic Bodies. The growing role of the Romanian Communist Party and Ideological, Political-Educative Activity, the Rising Level of Scientific Knowledge, of Culture, of Revolutionary Consciousness. The ratio of Forces and the Fundamental Characteristics of the International Situation."

During the presentation of the document, the participants powerfully restated the ardent adhesion to the RCP and Romanian State internal and foreign policy, to the ideas, theses and orientations of remarkable theoretical and practical significance in President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech, as well as their firm determination to act for their unflinching translation into fact.

In the light of the important orientations, appreciations and tasks in the party general secretary's speech, the debates started within the joint proceedings of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and of the Executive Bureaus and Councils of the Worker Revolutionary Democracy Bodies and of the Mass and Public Organizations.

In the afternoon, the proceedings of the joint plenary meeting were held in councils on domains of activity: Council for Planning and Raw Materials, Fuel and

Energy Basis; for Metallurgical and Machine Building Industry; for Chemical, Petrochemical and Light Industries; for Industrial Constructions and Construction Materials; For Transport and Telecommunications; for the Economic-Financial Activity Questions and the Consistent Application of the New Economic Mechanism and Self-Administration; for Self-Management and Self-Supply Questions and the Rise of the Working People's Standard of Living; for Foreign Economic Relations and International Cooperation. The meeting of the Executive Bureau of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, of the executive bureaux of the component central bodies was also held.

The joint proceedings of the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP and of the Executive Bureaux and Councils of the Worker Revolutionary Democracy Bodies and of the Mass and Public Organizations continue.

'Ceausescu Era' Achievements Praised

AU2211202188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 22 Nov 88

["The Attainment of the Romanian People's Aspirations in the 'Nicolae Ceausescu Era'"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 22/11/1988—Under the above headline, "SCINTEIA" of November 22 runs in its section "Seventy Years Since the Creation of the Unitary Romanian National State" an article signed by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, rector of the Academy of Political Sciences under the CC of the RCP. Here are excerpts from that article.

A plenary recognition of national identity, the fruit of a long history saturated with fights for freedom and independence and with remarkable contributions to mankind's progress and defined by a great creative power and an irrepressible spiritual combustion, has been the Romanians' imperative wish for centuries on end. This identity—which was rather indistinct in the period of dogmatism, when it was dwarfed, distorted and reduced to the dimensions of a photofit portrait drawn in hasty, rudimentary lines—has been wholly reassessed in the "Ceausescu Era" when the works that characterized it were reconsidered and its essence was approached in a new, synthetic and unitary, bold and exhaustive manner, in the spirit of historical materialism.

The Ninth Congress not only brought to the fore the concept of national dignity, which it rehabilitated by clearing it of erroneous ideological alluvia, but also defined—tactically and programmatically—the way of exercising it de facto, in line with the imperatives of the epoch. Never before in our entire bi-millenary history has the mobilization of energies been greater nor has the action of forces been more spectacular than in the period elapsed since the Ninth Congress. In 23 years the Romanian people has managed to build a vast industrial network throughout the country. Could any Romanian fail to experience a sense of delightful wonder and pride when noticing that our state, which was still an agrarian state at the end of the Second World War, when more than 80 per cent of its population worked in the field performing debile [as received] farming operations and manual labour, now produces electronic devices, cybernetically programmed machine tools, sea-going vessels, aircraft, automobiles, the whole range of farm machinery and various consumer goods?

The process of mass instruction has developed rapidly and, in the next few years, twelve-year education will be generalized. Which means that a social desideratum, namely a school-leaving diploma for the country's entire population, which even the advanced states boasting long-standing cultural traditions failed to attain. Industrialization and the new agrarian revolution, which have gone hand in hand with a progressive expansion of higher education, gave birth to classes of new-type intellectuals, who are directly linked to material production, to the revolution in science and technology.

Romanian science, which produced prominent personalities in the past, too, now offers full detachments in all the compartments of research, which make a true army to staff the most advanced fields of natural investigation.

One of the most salient features of the period ushered in by the Ninth Congress is the radical reconsideration of the principles of justice and equity, as component parts of the humanist concept that is specific to the Romanian people and its system. Nobody will ever be able to forget the renowned April 1968 plenary meeting which gave back to the nation freedom and individual dignity, human rights and the rights of the citizen, imparting real content to the principles of socialist law. The condemnation of political arbitrary and of abuse, as altered, perverted forms of socialist power, the proclamation of the necessity of public authority and control over the repressive mechanism, according to a correct outlook on the functions of the state—in conditions in which elsewhere a certain measure of obscuratism was being prolonged—provided for the revigoration of the political and social climate.

After the Ninth Congress, owing to the consolidation of the country's economic position and as an outcome of an intransigent foreign policy, the ideal of independence, for which the Romanian people suffered and shed blood for centuries on end, has been virtually fulfilled. The party and the state withstood international pressures of all kinds—and they were not few, either—and renounced not an inch of their sovereign attributes. Owing to all this, the "Ceausescu Era" went down as a brilliant page in the history of Romania's independence, in the people's book of national dignity.

This era has managed to assert the Romanians' virtues as a peaceful people, as a courageous and responsible people. In a world painfully marred by interstate inequality and deep-going discrepancies in point of socio-economic development levels, by the tendency of rich

capitalist countries towards getting richer at the expense of poor peoples, in a world in which the great powers still make use of their authoritative messianism, the Romanian people turned the cause of the promotion of equity in relations among nations and of the establishment of a new international economic and political order into its major slogan of fight. In the years following the Ninth Congress, more than ever before in its entire history, Romania has asserted its opinion with realism, wisdom and prestige on all the conflicts that troubled mankind, has accused the policy of force, of interference, of aggresion, of ignoring the peoples' sovereignty, and has consistently safeguarded the principle of equity, as the sole antidote for world political diseases, as the sole alternative to the atrocities of a third world war, which would ineluctably turn nuclear.

As a prominent spokesman for the Romanian people, the author writes in conclusion, President Nicolae Ceausescu has made a tremendous contribution to the definition of new-type relations, apt to break the greatest deadlock in mankind's history both practically, through his tireless presence in the whirl of international political life, and theoretically, through a complete and unitary, bold and convincing outlook. In the face of so many stringent contradictions, of political confusion, of arrogant positions and defeatist attitudes, of groundless euphoria and loss of trust in the forces of progress, this practical political activity and this theoretical work represent a major modality of asserting the personality of the Romanian people, of internationally validating its militant vocation in the service of justice and general welfare.

Leaders' Public Appearances Noted

For 6-12 November

AU1211201188 [Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romania in its newscasts, Bucharest AGERPRES in English and Bucharest press report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 6-12 Nov period (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu and First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea began an official visit to Syria on 7 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2028 GMT 7 Nov 88)

Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu conducted official talks with Syrian Prime Minister Mahmud al-Zu'bi (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2036 GMT 7 Nov 88) and attended an official dinner given in his honor, in Damascus on 7 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2141 GMT 7 Nov 88) On 8 November, Dascalescu held talks with Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2033 GMT 8 Nov 88) and visited Damascus socioeconomic units. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2011 GMT 8 Nov 88)

Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and vice president of the State Council, Ion Stoian, candidate PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee (CC), and Stefan Andrei, candidate PEC member and deputy prime minister of the government, attended a Soviet Embassy reception on the 71st anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, on 7 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 7 Nov 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Dhimitrios Khristofias, general secretary of the CC of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, on 9 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 9 Nov)

Stefan Andrei, PEC member and deputy prime minister of the government, received David Mitchell, commercial manager of the British firm Rolls Royce, on 10 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1809 GMT 10 Nov 88)

Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, addressed a meeting of the Interaction Council, in London on 9 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1943 GMT 9 Nov 88) On 11 November, Manescu met with British Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe, other officials in London. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 11 Nov 88)

Gheorghe Pana, member of the PEC of the RCP CC, conveyed RCP's message to the fourth session of the General People's Congress of the Yemen Arab Republic, in Sana on 12 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 12 Nov 88)

Ion Stoian, candidate PEC member and secretary of the RCP CC, received a Gu Jinchi-led delegation of CPC activists, on 10 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1817 GMT 10 Nov 88)

For 20-26 November

AU2611192388 [Editorial Report] Romania media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 20-26 Nov period (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government, and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, received EEC official Pablo Benavides, on 22 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 22 Nov 88)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received credentials of new Italian Ambassador Luigi Amaduzzi on 22 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 22 Nov 88) On 23 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a meeting of the PEC of the RCP CC. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 23 Nov 88) On 24 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu received departing Argentine Ambassador Enrique F. Lupis (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 24 Nov 88) and departing FRG Ambassador Helmut Matthias. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1954 GMT 24 Nov 88) On 25 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu received deputy leader of Turkish Mother Party Alaatin Fyrat. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1941 GMT 25 Nov 88)

Sydney Consulate Refuses To Hand Over Gunman

BK2911094688 Hong Kong AFP in English
0913 GMT 29 Nov 88

[Text] Sydney, Nov 29 (AFP)—Yugoslavian authorities Tuesday refused to surrender a consular security guard accused of shooting a teenage boy during a demonstration here Sunday.

Two Sydney detectives entered the consulate Tuesday afternoon to question the Yugoslav security guard, Matijas Zoran, and inspect the weapon allegedly used in Sunday's shooting.

They left the consulate one hour later without the gunman and would not give details of the interrogation.

Yugoslavia only agreed to an Australian demand for police to be allowed to interview Mr. Zoran after two days of diplomatic wrangling.

Mr. Zoran has been blamed for firing the shot which hit 15-year-old Josef Tokic in the throat during the demonstration.

Hospital officials said the youth was taken off the danger list on Tuesday although the bullet was still lodged in his neck.

He was among 1,500 Croatians who took part in a Yugoslavia national day protest outside the consulate, calling on Belgrade to set up an independent state of Croatia.

Police said several shots were fired when a handful of demonstrators broke into the compound. One ricocheted, hitting Mr. Tokic, who was out on the street at the time.

Police claim there is sufficent evidence to charge Mr. Zoran over the shooting.

However Consul-General Stanojlo Glisic told reporters Tuesday he would not let police question Mr. Zoran outside the consulate grounds.

Australian authorities in Canberra said it did not appear there would be any early resolution of the issue, which has strained relations with the Yugoslav Government.

Yugoslavia has not apologised for the incident and has blamed Australia for not providing adequate police protection during the demonstration.

Australian authorities claim Mr. Zoran does not have consular status and is not therefore entitled to diplomatic immunity, which means he could face prosecution.

Local Police Blamed for Problems

LD2811195788 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1718 GMT 28 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 28 (TANJUG)—Demonstrations by certain extremist fascist groups that have taken place in the past two days in front of the Yugoslav Consulate building in Sydney, Australia, are part of these groups' several years' scenario. But there has been one additional dimension to yesterday's demonstrations and riots on the eve of Yugoslavia's national holiday, the 29th of November. This dimension was seen in the complete passiveness of Australian police towards the demonstrating members of the pro-Ustashi emigration (the Ustashi were the followers of the fascist quisling organization on Yugoslavia's soil during World War II).

Since the police were passive, it was possible for the Utashi demonstrators to break into the Consulate yard, to try to take the Yugoslav banner down, and to enter the premises of the Yugoslav representation.

In a situation like this, the staff of the Yugoslav Consulate could not do anything else but to apply physical force to defend the banner and the integrity of their country's representation. What took place was what had been least wanted, because one of the warning bullets had ricocheted and hit a 14-year-old boy who was among the demonstrators.

Throughout the demonstrations, Austrialian police, well aware of the terrorist orientation of Ustashi emigres, were in the role of observers. In this respect the Australian authorities and police bear full responsibility for all that had happened.

The responsibility of a host country has its legal aspects too, because the international law warrants the integrity of diplomatic-consular representations.

It has not been a practice that the staffs of diplomatic-consular representations should defend themselves alone from the violence and from terrorists. It is the host country's duty to provide protection and guarantee it, but Australia, as is to be regretted, has not acted in this way.

Sweden Reports Sale of 'Robot 15' Missiles

LD2611154488 Stockholm International Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 26 Nov 88

[Text] Sweden has been selling the advanced 'Robot 15' surface missile amid great secrecy to Yugoslavia, according to today's SVENSKA DAGBLADET newspaper. The Saab Missile Company signed a contract worth several hundred million kronor with the Yugoslav state, informed sources told the paper. The first missiles are said to have been delivered the summer before last, but neither the Defense Materiel Administration nor Saab

Missile were willing to confirm the deal. Haakan Ganget, deputy director of Saab Missile's parent company, Saab Combitech, told the paper that he was sworn to total secrecy on the matter.

USSR's Silayev Arrives for Talks 15 Nov

LD1611105188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2255 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 15 (TANJUG)—Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, vice-chairman in the Soviet Council of Ministers and president of the Soviet side of the Yugoslav-Soviet inter-governmental committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation arrived in Belgrade this evening. Silayev and his host Janez Zemljaric, Yugoslav vice-premier and Silayev's counterpart in the mixed committee, will take part in the 26th session of the committee that opens in Belgrade tomorrow.

The two delegations will discuss topical issues and further scopes for promoting economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet Union is Yugoslavia's major trading partner with an average annual two-way exchange of some six billion dollars. In the past few years, Yugoslavia has regularly recorded a surplus in its exchange with the Soviet Union, which this year stood at 1.7 billion dollars.

Soviets To Open Archives to Researchers

LD1611000988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2150 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 16 (TANJUG)—Soviet historians today said they would do everything to enable their Yugoslav colleagues to use the Soviet archives for their research.

The promise was made at a session of the Yugoslav-Soviet historians' commission on the eve of a scientific meeting on Yugoslav-Soviet relations up to 1945 to mark the 150th anniversary of the appointment of the first Soviet consul to Serbia (now a Yugoslav republic).

Yugoslavia and Yugoslav historians are especially interested in the archives of the Comintern (Third International) which contains many documents on the work of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the fate of Yugoslav communists during Stalin's purges.

It is believed that the archives of the Vatican and the Comintern are the two most interesting archives in the world since they contain documents of great importance to the history of Christianity and communism, and thus to mankind because these two movements have had a crucial influence on the development of civilization.

The influence of the Comintern on the CPY lessened shortly before the outbreak of World War Two, when the Yugoslav Communist Party started off on its own course.

Ahead of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia early this year, Yugoslavia was given access to some documents on the work of the CPY.

The archive of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was given 562 micro-films on the Comintern's dealing with the "Yugoslav question," but they do not contain material on the fate of Yugoslav communists in Stalin's purges.

The declaration on Yugoslav-Soviet relations signed because of and during Gorbachev's visit, reaffirmed the democratic principles of the relations between the two countries and parties which were the result of the 1955 Belgrade declaration and the 1956 Moscow statement.

These two documents marked a normalization of relations between the two countries and parties after the estrangement in the period of Cominform 1948-1953. By signing these documents, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev admitted that Yugoslavia and the CPY were the victims of unjustifiable harassment and isolation over disagreement with Stalin's dictatorship.

After Khrushchev's admission and apology to the Yugoslav leaders, the Soviet Union no longer exerted pressure or interfered in the relations between the two countries which would directly jeopardize the independence, integrity and Yugoslavia's right for its own course of development.

The relations stagnated and there were even open conflicts whenever the Soviet Union's foreign policy and ideological doctrines conflicted with the stands of Yugoslavia and its party on strict respect for independence, integrity, sovereignty, non-interference, democratic relations between progressive parties and movements and the right for its own course of development.

Relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were strained during the Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956, during the Warsaw Pact's intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet Union's involvement in the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea in 1979 and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan later that year.

Yugoslav-Soviet relations were also burdened with conflict over the movement of non-alignment as an independent, global and non-bloc factor in international relations. The Soviet doctrine disagreed with such a role of the movement and saw it in the function of its own strategic interests.

The declaration signed during Gorbachev's visit leads to the conclusion that such moments in the relations between the two countries are in the past.

The document, adopted at the initiative of the Soviet Union, reaffirmed all the principles contained in the Belgrade declaration and the Moscow statement, to which Yugoslavia had always adhered.

The text of the declaration was changed, and it treats the movement of non-aligned in a way that the Soviet Union has not practiced before, giving the document international importance.

Received by Mikulic

LD1711023288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2222 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic received here today Soviet Deputy Premier and co-chairman of the Soviet-Yugoslav Committee Ivan Silayev, who is heading the Soviet delegation at the 26th session of the Yugoslav-Soviet Committee on Economic, Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

Mikulic and Silayev said the relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union were developing successfully in many fields, and urged broader economic cooperation between the two countries.

They also discussed Yugoslavia's surplus in trade with the Soviet Union and agreed to settle the problem by broadening the scope of economic cooperation, primarily through exports of goods and equipment from the Soviet Union.

Mikulic pointed out the interest of Yugoslav firms to participate in investment projects in the Soviet Union, in the agricultural complex and in joint scientific and research projects.

Silayev on Ways To Improve Trade

AU1911082788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Milan Nedic commentary]

[Text] Respected listeners, we will devote the next few minutes to Yugoslav-Soviet international, I mean, intergovernmental economic and scientific cooperation. The basic aims of this cooperation were formulated today. These aims should stabilize and improve economic relations between the two countries. In talks this afternoon with the most prominent Yugoslav businessmen, Ivan Silayev, Soviet deputy premier; Janez Zemljaric, vice president of the FEC; and Milan Pavic, president of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber, stressed that with more effort and inventiveness mutual trade must continue to rise. At the same time, solutions must be sought to reduce our balance of payments surplus with the USSR, which stands at $1.75 billion. Here is a commentary by Milan Nedic:

At present it is difficult to maintain total trade with the USSR at an annual level of $6 billion, considering that our trade has been declining since 1985. However, the results of the Belgrade meeting between the Yugoslav-Soviet intergovernmental committee should, according to the results achieved, represent a turnaround in the economic relations between the two countries. According to an agreement that was signed, the $550 million of our balance of trade surplus is being converted into an interest-bearing loan. The talks on an accelerated completion of 21 investment projects in Yugoslavia have concluded. It was concluded that the delivery of gas is to be increased by 100 percent and the preparations for opening a joint Yugoslav-Soviet bank will be speeded up, which will provide a new impetus for trade.

In addition to the five currently existing joint enterprises, agreements have been prepared to establish four more joint enterprises. Direct contacts have also been established between 120 Yugoslav and Soviet work organizations. Replacing the administrative that we had until now, these direct links should in the future represent the main direction of the development of trade and higher forms of economic and scientific cooperation. One should also stress that the project concerning the consolidation and reconstruction of the Smederevo steel works, which has been realized in cooperation with the Soviet economy from the beginning, has also been positively assessed.

Yugoslav businessmen stressed that the Soviet side is expected to continue its regular supply of coal, aluminum, celulose, cotton, and crude oil, as well as the machines required by the Yugoslav market.

Finally, one should say that the Yugoslav Economic Chamber has sent about 200 proposals to Soviet organizations concerning joint development of enterprises and other forms of higher cooperation. These projects and proposals will be examined in more detail at the forthcoming business conference in Moscow.

Agreement Signed With CSSR for More Trade

LD1811004888 Prague CTK in English 2020 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade Nov 17 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia will exchange goods and services worth more than 1,400 million clearing dollars in 1989, i.e. an increase by roughly 10 percent against 1988.

An inter-governmental protocol was signed here Thursday by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Ladislav Vodrazka and Yugoslav Deputy Secretary for Foreign Trade Djordje Hadzi-Mihailovic.

The two representatives stressed that the document creates needful preconditions for organizations of the two countries for taking more active part in overcoming the stagnation in bilateral trade lasting already for several years.

Czechoslovakia's exports to Yugoslavia will be about 40 per cent higher than Yugoslavia's exports to Czechoslovakia to balance Yugoslavia's assets on the clearing account.

Loncar Ends Official Visit to FRG 9 Nov

AU1411175288 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 88 p 2

[M. Stojanovic report: "Full Support to Yugoslavia and Its Surmounting of Crisis"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Nov—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today ended his 3-day visit to Bonn by holding long and substantive talks with Willy Brandt. He will obviously return to Belgrade satisfied with the completed job. He believes, as he said in the final conversation with Yugoslav journalists in Bonn, that the Yugoslav situation is now understood better and that the German partners' permanent interest in cooperation with Yugoslavia and their greater readiness to provide a comprehensive support to Yugoslavia's orientations and efforts to overcome the crisis have been reiterated.

In stressing their understanding, trust, and readiness to support Yugoslavia, the West Germans also stressed their own interests which stem from the strategic position and role of Yugoslavia in Europe and its economic situation. The FRG is our most important economic partner, and in Yugoslavia's opening up toward the world and ultimate market orientation, its economy, which is highly export-oriented and technologically modern, sees a new and great opportunity.

The German public was informed about this support through a statement issued by the Foreign Affairs Office on the talks between Genscher and Loncar (who spoke on three occasions). In addition to expressing support to Yugoslavia and its orientation toward reform, the statement particularly expresses official Bonn's confidence in the Yugoslav leadership's ways of overcoming the crisis.

It is obvious that Budimir Loncar's visit contributed to this. This visit took place at a time when the German public had been inundated by so much controversial information about the situation in Yugoslavia which created a feeling of uncertainty for our country's present and future among our German friends and German businessmen. The open and complete explanations, which Federal Secretary Loncar gave to numerous officials in Bonn (in addition to the talks with Genscher, Loncar also held talks with the president of the Bundestag's Foreign Policy Committee, a group of federal deputies, and the most prominent SPD members, Willy Brandt and president Weizsaecker) concerning the internal situation in Yugoslavia, and, in his belief, the final surmounting of conceptual dilemmas, were received with understanding and respect.

The need to help Yugoslavia in the current process of liberalizing its relations with the world is in the direct and essential interest of the FRG and its other partners in Europe and the world, Willy Brandt told the Federal Secretary and stressed that "Yugoslavia's success or failure would inevitably have a broader meaning" and consequences in Europe. This is the reason for the great interest in events in Yugoslavia and the wish for Yugoslavia's success, Brandt explained.

Loncar exchanged views with Brandt on a wide range of topics, ranging from bilateral relations of the two countries to those concerning the future vision of Europe.

Loncar Assesses EEC Ties

LD0811161588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 8 Nov 88

[Text] Bonn, 8 Nov (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, stressed today that as part of the process, as a non-aligned country, of Yugoslavia's opening up toward the world, relations with the EEC are to be revitalized.

At a press conference in Bonn following political talks with his host, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Loncar stated that permanent political consultations between Yugoslavia and the EEC will be instituted.

The federal secretary added that the Nonaligned Movement will institutionalize a dialogue with "the twelve" in building its strategy of positive cooperation with the developed world. According to him, it is also necessary, within the process of international integration, to create a network of cooperation with countries which do not belong to either Eastern or Western economic formations.

Loncar pointed out that despite their different geostrategic positions, Yugoslavia and the FRG have very close stances regarding aspirations toward building a new Europe as a common home for its people.

To this end, according to Loncar, both countries are calling on all participants in the CSCE meeting in Vienna to adopt, as soon as possible, a proposed final document to pave the way for negotiations on conventional disarmament and stability on the continent.

Asked what else he means by revitalization of relations with the EEC and with the FRG, in particular, Loncar pointed out that Yugoslavia has finally committed itself to the market economy which implies being exposed to pressures from world competition and attracting foreign capital.

He stressed that the twelve and especially the FRG as Yugoslavia's main foreign trade partner, have an important role to play in this. This also applies to specific projects such as the construction of the Adriatic highway which seems to be of particular interest to journalists.

Asked if the desire to attract foreign investors might not be fulfilled due to political instability, Loncar replied that Yugoslavia has taken a long time to resolve the dilemmas surrounding its commitment to the market as a prerequisite for attracting foreign capital but that, by pushing dogmatism into the background, scope has been created for economic renewal and political democratization and, by implication, for a more stable development.

The federal secretary gave a detailed account of the economic aspect of the forthcoming constitutional reforms, paying most attention to the introduction of various forms of ownership in the national economy and the liberalization of economic activity, which gave rise to the question of whether socialism would remain in Yugoslavia.

Replying that in spite of all the difficulties, the historical Yugoslav orientation has been confirmed and that now, in particular, it is being confirmed in the framework of international trends in socialism. Loncar said that there can be no self-managing socialism without a market economy and that private initiative does not have to contradict social justice.

The desire for social peace at any price, according to Loncar, has often held back social changes so that the development of freedom in recent times has gone before the development of the institutions of social democracy, moves toward reform have awakened political liveliness, and have caused occasional excesses, but "the aim is visible, not all the steps to it have been completed, but they are under construction," he stated.

Loncar stressed that the free press in Yugoslavia has a particularly valuable role in the process of democratization and in this connection, it is perhaps true that certain papers are linked to personalities, as is sometimes the case in other countries, but that the Yugoslav press is definitely not linked to institutions.

Greece's Papoulias Official Visit 16-17 Nov

Dizdarevic Receives Minister

LD1711072988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2119 GMT 16 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Nov (TANJUG)—Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Greece, who is on an official visit to our country.

In cordial and very friendly talks, the mutual and lasting interest in the development of relations and comprehensive cooperation between Yugoslavia and Greece was confirmed. On this occasion too, readiness was expressed to use all the possibilities accompanied by mutual efforts to strengthen cooperation and patiently remove everything which is burdening mutual relations.

President Dizdarevic stressed, inter alia, the need for the patient nurturing of everything which increases understanding between the two neighboring countries and facilitates sober consideration of the questions on which there are differences.

There was also discussion of inter-Balkan cooperation and the need to preserve the continuity of the involvement of the Balkan countries in the development of Multilateral cooperation in all fields of common interest.

Minister Papoulias stressed that Greece is following with great interest the SFRY's activity in the nonaligned movement as well as the initiative of the nonaligned countries in the international sphere.

The talks were attended by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Vladimir Sultanovic, SFRY ambassador to Greece; and Emmanouil Spiridhakis, Greek ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Loncar, Papoulias Meet

LD1811101988 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 17 (TANJUG)—Chief diplomats Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia and Karolos Papoulias of Greece reiterated in Belgrade today the two countries' readiness further to strengthen their comprehensive cooperation which already serves as a model and is in the interest of stable relations in the Balkans.

Loncar presented to Papoulias Yugoslavia's proposal for the introduction of a regular political dialogue between Yugoslavia and the European Community (E.C.), currently chaired by Greece. In the dialogue, Yugoslavia would expect of the E.C. to respect its distinctive features of a European, Mediterranean and non-aligned developing country.

Papoulias said that Greece would urge closer ties between the E.C. and Yugoslavia, believing them to be in the mutual interest.

The ministerial council for E.C.-Yugoslavia cooperation will meet on December 19 of this year.

Loncar and Papoulias assessed that it was in the mutual interest of Yugoslavia and Greece, two neighbouring countries, openly to discuss the solution of some still unresolved questions in the mutual relations, including the visa and passport system, border-area trade and transport.

The Yugoslav side reiterated that it was necessary that Greece fully repsect the Macedonian language, which it negates. As a result of the position taken by official Athens on the Macedonian language, of the several

thousand Greek university students studying in Yugoslavia, none are enrolled in the University of Skoplje, republic of Macedonia, which teaches in Macedonian and whose diplomas consequently not recognized in Greece.

The Yugoslav side called for the abolition of visas between the two countries and the simplification of the visa formalities in a transitional period.

The value of Yugoslav-Greek trade for the first nine months of this year stood at nearly 200 million dollars and is to go up to 250 million by the end of the year. Loncar and Papoulias called for the balancing of the bilateral trade, in view of the Yugoslav side's surplus. The two sides expressed readiness to overcome the disagreements which broke out this past summer when Greece, hit by a drought, drew excessive amounts of water from the border lake of Dojran, upsetting the lake's ecological balance.

The Yugoslav side upheld the founding of the Institute for Balkan Cooperation in Athens and Greek Minister Papoulias lent support to the idea of the reconsturction of the medieval Serbian Monastery Hilandar in Greece.

Suvar Receives Papoulias

LD1811113288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Karolos Papoulias, Greek foreign minister and a prominent leader of the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, who is on an official visit to our country.

Stipe Suvar and Karolos Papoulias, gave a positive assessment to Yugoslav-Greek relations which both sides would like to see further improved, provided that the positive processes of Balkan cooperation, which have been started and which are in the interests of all the Balkan peoples and countries, are stimulated and advanced. Note was made of the role of the progressive parties and movements of this region in resolving the open questions and turning the Balkans into a region of peace and constructive cooperation.

Stipe Suvar familarized his guest from Greece with the activities of the LCY in implementing the economic and political reforms as well as the transformation of the LCY. Participating in the talks were Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Vladimir Sultanovic, SFRY ambassador in Greece, as well as Emmanouil Spiridhakis, Ambassador of Greece in our country.

Greek Foreign Minister Departs

LD1811113588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Servie in Serbo-Croatian 2152 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias ended his 2-day official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia today and left Belgrade.

At Surcin Airport the Greek foreign minister was seen off by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and by his closest colleagues.

Athens Radio on Bilateral Issues

NC1811072488 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 0500 GMT 18 Nov 88

[Report by correspondent Menia Papadhopoulou in Belgrade; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Acting through the Greek presidency of the EEC, Yugoslavia submitted an official request to open a political dialogue with the Community. A letter on the matter was presented during the Greek-Yugoslav dialogue in Belgrade by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar to Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, who is also president of the EEC Ministerial Council.

Yesterday, President Branko Mikulic, and Vice President Raif Dizdarevic expressed to Greece Yugoslavia's gratitude for our country's contribution to the acceptance of this request by the 12. In addition, Belgrade asked that, if possible, this dialogue should commence under the Greek presidency, perhaps at the same time as the EEC-Yugoslav Cooperation Council meeting.

The character of the Papoulias two-day talks in Belgrade can best be described by a Dizdarevic statement: We need each other, and in any eventuality, without Greece and Yugoslavia, there can be no inter-Balkan cooperation.

Bilateral and community issues were the main topics of discussion by the two delegations. The results are:

1—A Greek proposal for joint financing of Axios River projects on Yugoslav territory, for the common good, in an effort to overcome the current deadlock. This was accepted in principle, and was referred to the next session of the Greek-Yugoslav committee which will make the practical decisions.

2—The two sides agreed that the so-called Macedonian issue poisons the excellent relations between the two countries, and they recognized that efforts are needed to prevent this issue from undermining further improvement of relations, on a long term basis. The Greek side stressed Athen's annoyance and displeasure over the propaganda war of words from Skoplje.

3—Belgrade agreed that there is need for efforts to improve the balance of trade, which is unfavorable for Greece.

4—It was agreed to explore possibilities for undertaking joint business ventures after the termination of the Iran-Iraq war in the area.

In conclusion, Greeks and Yugoslavs agreed that this visit by the Greek foreign minister to Belgrade was one of the best during the past 3 years.

Popovski, Mikulic Meet European Council's Oreja
LD0311174088 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 2 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 2 (TANJUG)—The long-standing cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Council is developing well and new possibilities for its further improvement have been established, President of the Yugoslav Assembly Dusan Popovski and European Council Secretary-General Marcelino Oreja said today.

As a result of the participation of Yugoslav parliamentarians and certain government members in the European Council meetings, Yugoslav-European Council cooperation is expanding from the level of experts to the political level. Cooperation now exists in the fields of science, culture, education and certain social fields, such as the problems of migrant-workers.

Yugoslavia also takes part in many European activities, in the protestion of natural environment and cultural and historical monuments, the development of regional cooperation of Mediterranean and Alpine countries and in other activities initiated by the European Council, Popovski and Oreja stressed.

Popovski and Oreja also discussed the possibilities of Yugoslavia signing certain European Council conventions. Yugoslavia has so far signed the convention on cultural cooperation.

Yugoslav Premier Branko Mikulic today received Oreja. They positively assessed the cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Council and emphasized the mutual interest to establish a more regular political dialogue with respect for Yugoslavia's status as a European, Mediterranean and non-aligned country.

The European Council secretary-general today ended his two-day visit to Yugoslavia and left Belgrade.

LCY Commission on Economic Reform Foundations
AU1711170388 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Nov 88

[Text] Within the context of preparations for the 19th Plenum of the LCY Central Committee, the Central Committee Commission for Socioeconomic Relations discussed the ideopolitical foundations of the economic reform. Djordje Vlajic has the details:

Opening the discussion, Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, pointed out that the reform is beginning in mainly unfavorable circumstances. He illustrated this with data that was collected by five of our eminent economic institutes. According to the assessment of these specialist institutes, inflation will stop at the end of the year at somewhere between 230 and 250 percent, and in 1989 it will fluctuate between 300 and 500 percent. According to these specialist institutions, the Yugoslav economy continues to have stagflation from which the experts see no imminent exit. Because of this, it is essential to establish at the 19th session of the Central Committee a stand regarding economic reform as a part of the entire social reform which is desired in order to enter a new stage in the development of socialism.

Korosec warned of two types of criticism of the economic reform: dogmatic criticism and the criticism of improvisation.

Milos Milosavljevic advocated that the commission should not deal with details of the working texts of the reform laws but should assess whether they are essentially changes which are passed in line with the Constitution, that is, whether entrepreneurship and profit [dobit] have a constitutional basis.

Branislav Soskic believed that it is not necessary to stress that there are excessive ideological differences regarding reform and those that exist can continue as alternative solutions. Soskic also believed that the dilemma about entrepreneurship is artificial if an efficient economy is desired.

Ivo Perisin stressed that the reform cannot be considered as the twilight of self-management but one should sort out why self-management has remained, in his words, just an empty shell.

Kiro Gligorov also thought that reform could not threaten self-management, but it would enrich self-managing practice with a number of new relationships. He illustrated this with several cases, including the question of the participation of self-managing workers in enterprises which invest capital in other enterprises.

Kiro Gligorov also believed that, if the reform is implemented, then it is unavoidable that the organizational orientation of the state would also have to be changed. For now, stressed Gligorov, this is a problem that no one is dealing with, but the existing state organizations could be serious obstacles to reform.

Ante Markovic believed that some of the proposed laws and the economic reform envisage a huge system of regulations which would help neither the reform of the economy nor the reform of the political system

Marija Todorovic pointed out that the law on enterprises does not envisage the responsibility of a workers council for failure in business operations.

Andre Marinc joined the participants in the debate who thought that economic reform does not in any way mean the restoration of capitalism.

What was said at the session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Socioeconomic Relations will be presented to the Central Committee Presidium and used for the preparation of stands for the 19th plenum of the Central Committee.

Defense Secretary Kadijevic Presents Budget

LD2711065288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 24 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 24 (TANJUG)—Consolidating the country's defense and security capability is and will remain for a long time a condition for peaceful development. Yugoslavia has opted for all-people's defense and the social self-protection concept on a lasting basis. Its efficiency has been proven, said Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary of national defense, explaining the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] budget for 1989 during today's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Stressing the general developments in international relations, particularly regarding the superpowers and military-political blocs, which basically speaking constitutes a positive trend, Kadijevic said:

Much more effort and time will be required, stressed Kadijevic, to ensure universal detente and security in the world, particularly when you bear in mind the fact that an increasing number of countries are improving, manufacturing, or—at least insofar as technical and technological possibilities are concerned—are capable of producing nuclear weapons.

"Although the USSR has formulated a 'defense sufficiency' doctrine, which implies quantitative and qualitative restrictions on armed forces which do not allow either side to win a possible war, the existence of the 'competition doctrine' on which the United States is insistinig has the effect of continuing the arms race. At the same time, there is the tendency to compensate for any reduction in nuclear or any other type of weapons by developing new weapon systems whereby an adequate parity in the ratio of forces is not only secured, but the degree of armaments is raised to a qualitatively higher level," said Kadijevic.

"Recent events in our country have been carefully monitored in the world, Kadijevic went on to say. Most countries express an interest in Yugoslavia's stability. In some neighboring and other countries different assessments are made of the possible course of our internal situation. It cannot be ignored that sudden developments are possible in the international military-political situation which could radically change our strategic position. For this reason, we must above all establish a close link between our country's security and our internal situation, and also with the development of the military-political factor nearer home and farther afield."

Referring to the situation in Yugoslavia, the federal secretary of national defense stressed: The current social crisis and the possibility of that crisis getting worse has a multiple negative effect on the defense capability of our society with a trend toward growing danger to our country's integrity. The inefficient functioning of the political and legal system also has an impact, among other things, on the weakening of the moral strength of society and the Armed Forces. The economic and structural crisis in our country undermines the material foundations of all-people's defense and social self-protection foundations; it limits technical equipment and modernization of the Armed Forces, and has a negative impact on the defense and self-protection awareness of our population and of the members of the Armed Forces.

The attacks on the YPA, said Kadijevic, are primarily armed at destroying Yugoslavia and its federal and socialist sysem. An attempt is being made to change its role, status, and character as established by the SFRY Constitution as well as its status and role as laid down by the all-people's defense concept. This is why these attacks are stepped up without interruption and carried out on a continuous basis through: psychological-propaganda pressure and other public and secret attacks by the forces of external and internal enemies through attempts to discredit its officers; dissemination of defeatism and discouraging military careers; encouragement of national homogeneity within the Armed Forces; support for illegal group work in the YPA based on nationalist and separatist positions; and the pursuit of the crudest forms of subversive activity—terrorism, sabotage, and working as an agent of foreign intelligence services. A complacent and tolerant attitude by individual institutions of our political and legal system also suits the attacks on the YPA.

The conviction of YPA members is that they are doing an honorable and socially responsible task requiring effort, sacrifices, and also deprivation of many personal and family pleasures. This conviction as drastically and daily in conflict with unscrupulous insults to their personal and institutional dignity, insinuations, and malicious suspicions. This fills them with dismay.

The decisions of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee, their consistent elaboration and concretization within the framework of the three reforms, and also their vigorous implementation signify a correct and democratic way out of the crisis. This is why perhaps there is assorted oppositon to the elaboration and implementation of these decisions for this very reason.

We must vigorously eliminate opposition whether it is in the political or in the economic sphere. Efficient functioning of the state at all levels of its existence, institutions, and legal system is the essential condition for this to be done in accordance with the norms of democratic society. The existing state in this sphere must be overcome very quickly and decisively because there is a threat that the reforms can be jeopardized in the very beginning, stressed Kadijevic.

Referring to the negative consequences of the adjustments to the currernt YPA medium-term development plan, Veljko Kadijevic said:

It is common kowledge that the sources actually set aside to finance the Army were considerably down on what had been planned because the basis had been reduced because of the drop of national income in real terms. Furthermore, the resources have not not been secured in accordance with the planned percentage at which they sere set aside. The result is that their share in 1986 was 4.98 percent and in 1987 4.52 percent of national income. Besides, the delays in the availability of the resources reduced their value in real terms.

In these unfavorable conditions of getting our financial resources we were forced, among other things, to carry out specific changes in our plans and programs:

First, as you know, the SFRY Presidency has adopted the decision about a 13 percent reduction in the numerical size of our Armed Forces and the implementation of this decision is underway.

Second, we carried out a restructuring of specific aspects of our expenditure to the advantage of technical modernization.

Third, despite that, we were forced to give up some technical modernization programs, while we had to whittle down others and extent the deadlines of their implementation.

The next important consequence of the reduction of resources to finance the YPA, said Kadijevic, is the decline in the standard of living of YPA members. Although we tried to coordinate it with the established standard of life policy in our society, I must say that the personal income of military personnel on active service and of civilian personnel serving in the YPA has for 2 years already been registering a drop which is bigger than the drop of personal income in the economy. It is estimated that this year's fall of personal income in real terms by YPA members will be about 17 percent which is the biggest fall in income registered so far. The decelerated rate of housing construction also has an unfavorable impact on the standard of living. Because of the general restrictions with regard to the size of personal income and also of the wish to secure minimum existence wages for the youngest officers, a payment system exists now whose main characteristic is the 3:1 differential between the highest and lowest personal income in the YPA.

I would particularly like to point out the unfavorable consequences to which our military industry is exposed. The changed conditions of business operations in the country and the developments on the world market had a direct impact on the difficulties in this branch of the economy, which employs about 77,000 workers. Its material position is deteriorating although the results it has attained are above the average results of the Yugoslav economy.

The most acute problems are tied mainly to the inadequate use of capacities and a drop in production. The current capacities of the miltary industry were built on the basis of the SFRY Armed Forces development plans and programs when 6.17 percent of the national income was set aside to finance the YPA, subsequently reduced to 5.8 and 5.20 percent, and on the basis of the assessment of export opportunities which was to involve an average of 30 percent of available capacities. However, the reduction of resources to finance the YPA and in the armaments and military equipment manufacturing industry over a period of many years is jepardizing the employment of a significant segment of the military industry capacities.

In order to overcome the current difficulties, we are tackling the development projections of every specialized manufacturing basic organization of associated labor up to 2000. We will take a number of measures, ranging from restructuring the production (In keeping with the long-term plan of the development of Armed Forces) to putting a section of production capacities on ice.

Speaking on the development of all-people's defense and Armed Forces development, Veljko Kadijevic stressed that the all-people's defense concept objectives and tasks in preserving the security of the country remain the same. However, the weight must be placed on consolidating the function of deterrence from aggression because this is the most rational and in contemporary conditions the most realistic aspect of defense. No doubt the deterrence function must not be to the detriment of other functions because if there is a need to react with one of the remaining three functions, especially if what we are facing is an aggression with a radical objective, there will be no time or opportunity to compensate for what was not done in peacetime. In order to successfully implement the deterrence function, two essential conditions have to be ensured: overall stability in the country and a corresponding readiness, degree of organization, and equipment of the Armed Forces, especially of the YPA, to efficiently resist modern military doctrines, both from the point of view of preventive activity and in conditions of a possible aggression against our country.

Moral-political strength, readiness, and resolve of the overall Army system to resolutely resist every aggressor alone are not enough to fulfill this function; the YPA must also be adequately equipped from the technical point of view too.

We will channel further development and improvement of our Armed Forces, especially of the YPA, primarily into the following:

Maintenance and consolidation of the moral-Political unity of all members of the Armed Forces on the program of keeping and developing the achievements of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, and especially of Yugoslav socialist patriotism and revolutionary thought and Josip Broz Tito's achievement;

Further theoretical and practical development and updating military doctrine and military skills in keeping with our requirements and possibilities; updating doctrines and the material and technical needs of modern armies; devising timely and adequate answers to all these challenges. As far as possible, we have to compensate for some shortcomings in the domain of the material-technical factor of the armed struggle and of the war as a whole by improving our military doctrine;

An improvement of the organizational information structure of the units so that the overall organizational structure of the Armed Froces can become even more adaptable in the conditions and the demand of the successful conduct of all forms of armed struggle, especially the combined one;

An improvement of the system of bringing the Armed Forces up to cadre strength, updating military training and promotion of military schooling;

Modernization of the leadership and command system, both in the organizational and in the functional meaning of the word, especially in those segments which ensure even greater unity, links, and maximum use of all available resources;

An improvement of military organization in keeping with the demands required by contemporary social attainments—ranging from information to the social awareness of the young generation.

Explaining the resources to finance the YPA in 1989, Veljko Kadijevic pointed out, among other things, that the fact that the planned volume of resources in 1988 had not been secure, and that the federal budget concept for 1989, which is based on an unrealistic assessment of the nominal economic aggregates, is already now creating a great deal of problems in planning and financing the YPA. Next year these problems may become even more prominent if the high rate of inflation persists.

The most secure portion of the resources this year, he went on to say, which will probably be higher after the actual national income has been finally worked out, amounts to 862 billion dinars. It is clear that to secure the nominal value of these resources next year will result in these resources being realistically reduced taking into account the rate of inflation. We are bringing forward these debts into 1989 under two headings. The first of the debts which have matured, but which have not yet been paid out, is over 400 billion dinars, whereas the others are the debts which by agreement have been brought forward into next year. It can be inferred from this that at least approximately 50 percent of the debts carried forward should be secured at the beginning of next year, as proposed by the federal draft budget for 1989.

The proposed extent of resources to finance the YPA in 1989 amounting to 14,809.5 billion dinars has been determined, to quote Kadijevic, on the basis of the accepted 5 percent reduction in the value of the resources to finance the YPA as per the Yugoslav social plan, that is to say, by fixing their size in such a way that it represents 4.94 percent of national income.

It is also based on the assessment of the value of the national income with a 78 percent inflation rate and its current 60 percent rate of growth over the year, that is to say with an overall 133 percent rate of inflation. [transmission interupted, additional tanjug takes not received]

Kadijevic, Slovene Officials Discuss Defense

LD1011221788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—In the framework of his regular tours of units of the Armed Forces, work organizations manufacturing specific products, and sociopolitical communities, Col-Gen Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, accompanied by his closest colleagues, among whom were Vice-Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the Committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], and Vice-Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense, today visited the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in Ljubljana and had talks with Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency.

In the talks, the communique stresses, it was claimed that significant results in the development of territorial defense, civil protection, and other elements in the defense and self-protection system are being achieved in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. It was stated that in the republic, special attention is being devoted to the socialization of the tasks of defense and security, which has a positive impact on the quality and overall results of the defensive preparations of society. From the point of view of the further stimulation of this process in society

as a whole, it was said, it is exceptionally important that the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities realize more fully their role and responsibility in this field.

The conception of all-people's defense and social self-protection, which was founded in the National Liberation War and developed under the leadership of Tito, represents the sole alternative and is linked in an inseparable way with the development of socialist self-management. The conception, doctrine, and system of all-people's defense should constantly be perfected and adapted to the real needs and possibilities of society, to the demands of modern warfare and armed struggle, to the achievements of modern science and modern technologies. In the talks, it was pointed out that a specialist debate, in a body of the federation competent for this, on improving the theory and practice of all-people's defense will soon be conducted.

On this occasion too, it was stressed that the people of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia have the same attitude toward the YPA as they might have toward their own army and that the ties between the Army and the people in the republic are firm and stable. It is precisely because of this that it is necessary to constantly strengthen mutual trust and cooperation, remove possible disagreements through more frequent meetings and well-argued dialogue, and come up with, solutions to questions about which there are different views. To this end, there was also some discussion about aspects of the implementation of the constitutional principles on the equality of languages within the YPA, the roles of the republic in the organization of territorial defense, and other questions of importance for the implementation of the concept of all-people's defense.

Particular attention, the communique stresses, was devoted to the question of increasing the response of young people in Slovenia to a military vocation. All responsible subjects must be involved in this. Representatives of the YPA pointed out in the talks that individual public information media are continuing with the practice of tendentiously treating the place and role of the YPA and life and work within it. There was also discussion about the influence of the current socioeconomic situation on the defense preparations of society. Here it was pointed out that the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is a major defense and security problem and that all the social forces of Yugoslavia must be involved in seeking ways to overcome it and strengthen intranational trust in the province, in keeping with the orientations of the 9th and 17th LCY Central Committee session.

During his 2-day stay in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Col-Gen Kadijevic and his colleagues visited some commands and units of the Ljubljana Army District and the Slovene Territorial Defense Republican headquarters. Gen Kadijevic assessed positively the results in the development of the moral-political situation and the combat readiness of units of the YPA and territorial defense.

The federal secretary for national defense also had a meeting with retired YPA generals who live in Slovenia. On this occasion he spoke about the current questions of the development of all-people's defense and the tasks arising from the stances and conclusions of the 17th and 18th LCY Central Committee sessions.

New Multiple Rocket Launcher Developed

AU1211153188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 88 p 10

[M. Dinic report "Our New Weapon"]

[Text] Following the requirements of the modern theater of war [vojiste] in which rocket artillery is the main form of fire on the ground, our military experts have developed a new self-propelled multiple rocket launcher—ORKAN. The first steps in developing this modern weapon have been made by the Ground Forces Military-Technological Institute in Belgrade. After working persistently over several years, a top-level weapon system was constructed in the sphere of multiple launchers.

This rocket artillery piece is mounted on a Yugoslav-made truck that has eight-wheel drive and an automatic tire-pressure regulation system which ensures high level of mobility and cross-country ability under all conditions. This enables it to quickly change its firing position. After firing one or two volleys [rafal], this powerful long-range launcher moves from one firing position with great speed to another, previously chosen site. The weapons effect is fatal so the enemy is going to search for the launcher by all possible means—ground and air—in order to destroy it. Because of this, the vehicle carries a 12.7-millimeter anti-aircraft machinegun on the roof of its cabin, while the crew is armed with modern infantry weapons. The maximum weight of the whole system is 32 tonnes.

The weapon itself has 12 tubes. The caliber of the rocket launcher is 262 millimeters. Ingenious innovations and modern design enable quick firing and reloading of the weapon. The range of the destructive rockets fired in ripple fire is about 50 kilometers. The rockets' accuracy is increased by wrap-around stabilizing fins. They are folded around the projectile's body during transport or loading and unfold upon leaving the barrel. The projectile has a cassette [kasetni] warhead. It can successfully destroy all kinds of targets: personnel [ziva sila], strong fortifications, combat vehicles, armored transports....

The best firing accuracy is achieved when the rocket launcher is in a horizontal firing position. If the terrain is uneven, ORKAN is automatically adjusted for successful firing. All preparation activities are performed automatically—as desired by the operator seated at the command panel. A modern fire control system enables such a mode of activity.

Its attributes have ensured the self-propelled multiple rocket launcher ORKAN an important place in our ground forces' action. Its effect on the potential enemy's second and third echelon would considerably slow down the action of these forces.

Therefore, one can easily say that our country is one of the four countries in the world whose knowledge and technology enable them to meet the requirements of the modern theater of war in the sphere of multiple rocket launchers which are the foundation of the artillery of the future.

Serbian Presidency Discusses Stanovnik

AU1511181888 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Nov 88

[Text] During our program we received the following statement issued at the session of the Serbian Presidency:

On 8 November 1988, the Serbian Presidency sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency concerning the well-known statements which Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, made during his visit to the United States. In this letter, we insisted that the SFRY Presidency, in accordance with its duties and powers, particularly in the field of foreign policy, establish all the aspects concerning Janez Stanovnik's speeches in the United States and the circumstances for his accountability, and to inform competent federal organs and organizations and the entire Yugoslav and world public about this.

In the opinion of the Serbian Presidency, by his speeches Stanovnik inflicted irreparable damage to our country's international reputation around the world. By their content and consequences his statements and assessments are precedent in Socialist Yugoslavia and in the entire history since the founding of our country. The statements made by the President of the Slovene Presidency caused protests and bitterness among the citizens and working people in Serbia because of the open anti-Serbian attitudes of Janez Stanovnik who went as far as commenting on the SR of Serbia with an unacceptable tactlessness, scorn, and maliciousness. The part of his statements that refer to this republic was seen by the working people and public in Serbia as an example of an unacceptable attitude of an official representative of Yugoslavia abroad regardless of the fact that Janez Stanovnik's visit was described as private.

He spoke about Serbia as if he was not a member of the fraternal community of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. It statement to the public the Serbian Presidency ends with the following words:

It is incomprehensible that up to now the SFRY Presidency has not found it necessary to take the measures on the basis of our legal demand which we expressed in the letter sent to the SFRY Presidency. Considering the difficulties and serious consequences caused by these acts, we are of the opinion that assessing Stanovnik's accountability cannot be prolonged any longer. This is the main reason for the Serbian Presidency, which in assessing its own responsibility to the public, unanimously decided to present this letter sent to the SFRY Presidency on 8 November to the public.

During our program we have also received the conclusions adopted at the Serbian Presidency session.

All relevant facts of Janez Stanovnik's speeches made in the United States must be established in order to assess his accountability. All competent federal organs and organizations in the SFRY Assembly as well as the entire domestic and world public should be informed about them. Under what circumstance did the meeting between Janez Stanovnik and Secretary of State George Shultz took place? What was the purpose of their talks? Who authorized the meeting? Did a platform—which is endorsed according to all existing rules and in a special procedure by the SFRY Presidency or the FEC, depending on the rank of the official who is conducting political talks on behalf of the SFRY—for this talk exist, and was it approved? What is the responsibility of the Foreign Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and its role in preparing the meeting between Stanovnik and Shultz, since this and the meeting with the representatives of the media, economy, and cultural, public, and scientific workers could not have been arranged without the SFRY ambassador in Washington? What is the assessment made by the Yugoslav ambassador, which exists according to Stanovnik's statements? What is the level of the ambassador's responsibility considering that Zivorad Kovacevic is Yugoslavia's ambassador and as such is obliged, in our opinion, to represent the views of the SFRY Presidency, and react in a certain way if a public statement of any citizen or official made in his presence is not in accordance with the official established policy of Yugoslavia, its legal organs and bodies, and particularly of the SFRY Presidency?

It is incomprehensible that the TANJUG agency has not fully informed the Yugoslav and world public with all the reaction and statements. Considering the sharp reaction and criticisms concerning Janez Stanovnik's speeches as well as a possibility of the working people and citizens to express an even greater dissatisfaction, we expect that the SFRY Presidency will, in accordance with its functions, undertake all the necessary measures to protect our standing in the world as well as establish the direct accountability of Janez Stanovnik, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, the ambassador to Washington, and all others who led to this, the conclusions of the Serbian Presidency state among other things.

Slovene President Meets Ljubljana Students

LD2211001188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2144 GMT 21 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—At a 3-hour public debate this evening, Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, had talks with students of the

Ljubljana Electrical Engineering Faculty on the constitutional changes, economic reforms, human rights and other topical socioeconomic issues in Slovenia and Yugoslavia.

On the most frequently raised question, about the constitutional changes, Stanovnik said that they are a vital condition for the necessary and different operation of the economy. The solution to our economic problems obviously do not lie in the constant reforms which have failed as a result of the variety of differing interests in Yugoslavia. There is no other way except the transition to a real economy, Stanovnik stressed. Assessing the problem of the economy in our country as being the heart of the matter, he pointed to the vital importance of changing the economic system and not introducing economic stabilization measures, as has been done so far. This is also why changes in the very structure of the Constitution are necessary. [passage omitted]

Stanovnik very sharply rejected the claim made by a number of participants in the talks that the constitutional changes impinge on the sovereignty of the Slovene people. As Slovenes we have fought for our sovereignty in many periods of history. [passage omitted]

Stanovnik also analyzed the demand repeated today during the meeting in Ljubljana that a referendum be held on the constitutional changes. Stressing that he personally favors a referendum with all his heart and soul, while a solution to the questions of principle is not found, Stanovnik indicated that such a public statement of protest, when an agreement had already been reached, is unnecessary. I believe, he added, that in this situation, the question of a referendum is harmful to Slovene sovereignty. Only 7 percent of Slovenes truly know what is written in the constitutional amendments. People would be asked, therefore, to vote about something they have no knowledge of. This would be irrational, if, divided on this question as they are, they were to go into a referendum. This would be a disgrace for us in the world, Stanovnik said.

Stanovnik interpreted the democratization of our society as one of the vital prerequisites for the success of the reforms which we want. The views of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia do not differ on the essence of the present economic reforms, he said. However, there are questions on which identical views are not held. Yesterday, for example, you were able to hear, at the meeting in Belgrade, if someone does not agree, he can go to Graz or Philadelphia. For centuries we have been pressured, but our home is here. No one will make us emigrate from here. In this country, we Slovenes will fight for democracy and a better life. We can build it only if we are firmly resolved to defend the hearths of our grandparents and not allow anyone to joke about our future.

These words of Stanovnik's were greeted by thunderous applause.

Stanovnik also recalled that he is still thinking about the campaign against him and the insults piled on him because of his statements in the United States. I speak equally openly both in our country and abroad, and this is why I have constant difficulties, Stanovnik said and then asked whether it is the same for others. What is the nature, for example, Stanovnik says, of the cadre changes in the LCY Central Committee, an organ which is elected. We surely cannot say, he believes, that we will get rid of a third of the members. And now we are having a cadre renewal in which those who lost in secret ballots are returning and those who won in the secret ballots will be replaced as cadres.

Concluding the talks, Stanovnik assessed the inclination of Slovenes toward much which is European, not as some kind of Habsburg desire and aspiration but as a yearning for fuller involvement in the developments of today's Europe.

Slovene Conference on Political Differences

AU1711214788 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on speech by Dimitrije Rupel during the Ziherl Days discussions which began in Ljubljana on 10 Nov: "Milosevic's 'Guardists' and Jansa's 'Scholars'"]

[Text] Today Dr Dimitrije Rupel participated in the morning program of the "Ziherl Days" special conference. In his speech, he assessed the LCY as a Leninist type of party. This is a type of party that is based on the historical interests of the workers class and its monopolistic position, said Rupel. Those processes of modernization which can be seen in the developed world are a lethal enemy of the workers class of small businesses, said Rupel, and such a party should therefore resist democracy, which is brought about by political competition, and modernization, which is carried out by reducing the number of small businesses. The party, Rupel said, is essentially interested in underdevelopment.

Today Rupel reiterated the opinion of Taras Kermanuer on the difference between the northern and the southern parts of the country and compared Milosevic's politics and Slovene politics. Activists in Milosevic's faction are red guards and the supporters of Jansa and critics of the military-party complex are peaceniks and scholars. Rupel said that Kermanuer had indicated that this difference was the difference between a civil and a tribal society. As contributors to the backwardness of Yugoslavia and Slovenia, Rupel cited above all clubs of retired security service workers and reserve workers, veterans organizations, the church, and some intellectual elites. They invoke brotherhood and unity, equality, and defense of the revolution. This element particularly comes to the fore in Serbia, said Rupel. As the second element of social consciousness, Rupel cited technocracy, the "unburdened" political generation, and the

medium stratum. They invoke efficiency, profit, discipline, and such things. As the third part of his scheme, Rupel indicated the alternative movements which mostly exist in Slovenia, as well as ecologists, the humanist intelligentsia, and the youth.

As regards the first ones in this chain, Rupel said that they call for attachment to the Third World, while the others believe that they talk about the developed world, but they increasingly lag behind it. The third group in this scheme, according to Rupel, are the only ones who are sufficiently strong supporters of the developed world.

Rupel today proposed that an initiative be launched in the area of foreign policy to come out of the Third World and to cross over into the European Community and that an initiative in internal policy be launched to independently settle Slovene circumstances, including the differences in the political system.

Mikulic, Stojanovic Attacked in BORBA

AU1611082088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 88 p 4

[D. Pusonjic and M. Lucic report: "Who Was Hushing Things Up"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Nov—In tomorrow's issue, NASI DANI publishes among other things open letters to Branko Mikulic and Nikola Stojanovic and 20 questions to Dusan Zgonjanin.

An open letter to Branko Mikulic, which appears under the title "How To Convince the People," claims that it is more than clear that Branko Mikulic has not lived up to the expectations that he as the president of the FEC will be able to offer a way out of the crisis. The president of the government is criticized on several accounts. For instance, his role as president of the Bosnian LC Central Committee during the stormy political showdown in 1972 is said to be "fairly unknown."

The letter also states that it is indeed "very nice" that Branko Mikulic tried on several occasions to uncover the Agrokomerc affair, but that it is not "very nice" that he has "washed his hands of it all despite the fact that the birds know that he cannot easily wash his hands." The latter claims that during the May discussion on the vote of confidence in the SFRY Assembly, Mikulic "knew in advance that he had political support" and that this was the reason for him to teach the "disobedient delegates" who raised the issue of the vote of confidence a lesson. On this occasion he wanted to know "who had divided the country" and concluded that "calculations and trickery" were noticed in the behavior of some delegates, the letter adds.

The Public Left To Guess

Mikulic is criticized for not substantiating this claim and therefore "the public was left to guess what he really wanted to say." However, it was not difficult to guess why he had said this at that time, and why he had said it in such a way.

"Do you still really think," NASI DANI wonders, "that you can carry on the way you have been working for years and that after all this you can still 'force' the people to believe you. Too much has been revealed in recent months that we no longer believe that some magic trick could somehow restore the lost confidence and change the impression that political morale (your and your old armchair colleagues' political morale) has been badly shaken and a good deal lost. You failed and are still failing where you should have not failed at any price," the letter states among other things.

An open letter that appears under the title "Why Did You Hush Things Up" is addressed to Nikola Stojanovic. The author of the letter is Samija Mujkovic from Tuzla. She wants Nikola Stojanovic to explain to her his role in the Union-Impex—now the Soda-So Komerc work organization—affair between 1973 and 1979 and why he had hushed everything up.

According to this letter, Nikola Stojanovic was one of the leading Bosnian LC Central Committee officials and he led the sociopolitical action to make Union-Impex of Sarajevo recover. At that time this work organization was what Agrokomerc was last year. Even television carried some reports on its losses.

Admission, Then Criticism

The author of the letter claims that as an official auditor in this firm she analyzed the losses that had been incurred by the firm in a business deal with a foreign country and that she was in a position to see "how the workers class was the victim of embezzlement through export-import business, and how foreign currency invisibly flew through secret bank accounts into personal accounts." She wants Nikola Stojanoic to say among other things whether anybody was made criminally and ideopolitically accountable for this in Sarajevo, and when, and what his role was in this affair, and who was involved in it....

Under the title "Postponed Interviews" the paper states that on numerous occasions Dusan Zgonjanin, secretary of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, was unable to grant an interview to NASI DANI because of the "nature of his job and too many work commitments." The same thing happened on 7 November this year when Zgonjanin arranged to hold a conversation with the journalists of this paper. Considering the fact that the talk did not take place, he was asked 20 questions publicly. He is asked to express his opinion on a turnabout concerning the Republican Secretariat for

Internal Affairs: Last year the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs received all the credit for uncovering the Agrokomerc affair, but now the public criticizes it for having harassing several students of political science in Sarajevo for some time.

The information on the number of "informal talks" with students from other faculties is being sought in order to establish whether the students of political science were in a more favored position. The questions concerning the role of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in hushing up the accountability of "some more prominent names in the Agrokomerc affair" and the mismatch between the official statement of the Local Secretariat for Internal Affairs [MSUP] and the citizens of Mosevlje on the well known case were also raised.

From other questions raised we select those that refer to the "role of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in revealing the facts concerning Neum," and Zgonjanin's personal accountability for certain mistakes in the work of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs. There is also the question whether Zgonjanin thinks that everything was legal in his purchase of land in Neum....

In addition to all this, NASI DANI also publishes the first part of the dossier "Fall in Bosnia in 1972," which contains statements made by Osman Karabegovic, Avdo Huma, and Hajra Kapetanovic in 1972. The text is entitled "Criticism of Usurpation Policy."

Vlasi, Jasari 'Ignore' Democratic Centralism

AU1311201488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] Vlasi's denial contains two sets of issues. The first set refers to the topic of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session and his resignation, while the other refers to the process of proving the accountability of the former president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Of course, one should not doubt Vlasi's firm intention not to resign from his current post. He expressed this determination on several occasions, including the joint session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. At that session, however, some clear stands were taken and they bind him, too. According to these stands the members of the Kosovo LC Central Committee were supposed to return to Pristina and carry out differentiation as soon as possible. Indeed, only 2 days later resignations were tendered by Vojislav Zajic, secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and Ekrem Arifi, Rahman Dedaj, Uros Seslija, and Milan Gvozdic, members of the Provincial Committee. However, Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi refrained from this act despite the stand which was formulated by Petar Gracanin at the end of the joint session of the two Presidiums. This stand was not opposed by anybody and it was therefore thought that this stand had some kind of directive character because it was in fact Jasari and Vlasi who were named as the first officials who should, as was said at that session, leave the provincial party leadership.

Therefore, if the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium held 2 days ago did not have resignations on the agenda, and if Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi again refrained from tendering theirs, then this represents yet another example of ignoring the clear stands in whose formulation they themselves took part. According to the logic of things, this warrants the application of ideopolitical measures for violating the principles of democratic centralism. Whether the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee will insist on this remains to be seen.

As regards individual accountability of some officials for the grave situation in Kosovo, which is, let us recall, also a conclusion reached at the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum and at the joint session of the Republican and Provincial Presidiums, it is quite certain that in this case one cannot apply the kinds of yardsticks which, judging by everything, Azem Vlasi is counting on. One cannot simply accept the fact that personal accountability of anybody, including Vlasi, can be established for every case of stone throwing, maltreatment, rape, and beating up. However, Vlasi as well as everybody else can be blamed and subsequently asked to tender their resignations for failing to use their considerable influence to prevent, for instance, the real siege of a house belonging to a Serb in Prekalo and the need for village vigilantes for almost 3 months. Why did the militia not intervene in time? Where were the political aktivists? These are only some unresolved questions that have to be answered by the leading party officials.

It is also clear that Vlasi cannot be accused of, for instance, issuing orders for purchasing Serbian and Montenegrin houses and land, or for the emigration of some 400,000 Kosovars, or for the creation of some 750 ethnically pure places. However, the question of his accountability must be raised because he has not prevented all this.

Azem Vlasi, Kacusa Jasari, and others cannot be blamed for doing anything that could fall under not only political, but also criminal-legal jurisdiction, but they are accountable for not doing what they should have done in order to prevent the wild activities by Albanian nationalists and separatists. This is where their objective guilt and their objective accountability lie.